

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES WHEN HE WAS  
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM

1907 to 1919

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Baler, Tayabas  
Philippines

*Handwritten:*  
To the  
Honorable  
Commissioner  
Baler  
Tayabas  
Philippines  
1907



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SPEECH OF HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON RE-  
SIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM THE PHILIPPINE  
ISLANDS, IN THE AMERICAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
January 27, 1913.

MR. QUEZON.- Mr. Chairman, today's morning papers publish a dispatch from Manila to the effect that on the 23rd of January there was an engagement between the Moros on the one hand and the scouts and constabulary on the other, and in connection with this report it is stated that Aguinaldo and other Filipinos are engaged in political activities and preparing for a revolt. During the last two months, and immediately following the victory of the Democratic Party, reports of this character have been published almost daily throughout the United States, apparently with the purpose of defeating the Democratic proposition to give the Filipinos their independence, by impressing the American people with the fact that independence will be followed by a revolution in the islands.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MORO TROUBLE

It is my desire to comment but little upon the engagement between the Moros and the scouts and the constabulary. Nobody need be alarmed about it. Those who are familiar with what is going on in Jolo and Mindanao will find nothing new in this case. I know of no time when there was not an occasional outbreak among the Moros, except when they were under the wise and gentle hand of Gen. Wood, as governor of Mindanao. For the last two years there has been a regular warfare between the Moros and the American troops, due to an ill-considered policy of the official in charge of the Moros; but it was then to the interest of somebody to conceal this fact from the American people and no reports were therefore given out to the press about it. The explanation of this well-planned secrecy will, perhaps, be found in the following speeches delivered at Zamboanga two years ago before ex-Secretary of War Dickinson by two scarcely educated Moros:

First. "We have only a little to say, and that is that we are happy to be under the sovereignty of the Americans. There has been some talking about that the Filipinos want to tear some themselves off from Americans, and that they want to tear us away too, thus tear us away with them. If the Americans should give the Moro country over to the Filipinos they would be responsible to God for the blood that would be shed, because it would be the same thing as if you put two fighting cocks into one bag, for there would be fighting sure."



Second. " x x x The Secretary of War must look the matter in the face. We are a different race; we have a different religion; we are Moham-medans, and if we should be given over to the Filipinos how much more would they treat us badly, when they have treated even the Spanish badly who were their own mothers and their own fathers in generation? How did they treat them? Think about it. Think twice. We far prefer to be in the hand of the Americans who are father and mother to us now than to be turned over to another people."

Of course, after wide circulation was given throughout the United States of these protestations of friendship and love, and they were printed even in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the warfare that followed soon afterwards between the Moros and their American "fathers and mothers" could not be given out to the press, lest the report should convey to the American people an accurate idea of the terrific manner in which a Moro shows his friendship and love. (Laughter).

But two years have gone by. The result desired at the time has been accomplished, to wit: To show the American people that the United States was a blessing to the Moros. It is now thought that any report of disturbance in the Philippine Islands will foster the policy of retaining the islanders under American control, especially if, in connection with it, it could be said that a general revolt is being contemplated by the Filipinos, and an insignificant clash between a group of Moros and a small detachment of scouts and constabulary is promptly given to the press. This same clash, if it had happened a year ago, would not have been published, or, if it had to be published at all, would have been reported as an engagement between "police officers" and "out-laws"; now it is said to be between "American troops" and "rebels".

The whole truth about the Moro situation is this: They have never been content under their present rulers; they will be better satisfied under a Philippine government; and, at the worst, they can be governed by the Filipinos in the same way that they are governed toady.

#### FALSE DISPATCHES ABOUT AGUINALDO

But, as I said before, I do not wish to discuss at present these Moro troubles. They are not as serious today as they were a year ago, when nothing was said about them. What I do wish to call to the attention of the House are the malicious and absolutely false dispatches printed in the newspapers of this country about Aguinaldo and other Filipinos being engaged in revolutionary preparations.



The following is what the morning papers saw on this subject, after giving an account of the Moro outbreak:

Emilio Aguinaldi, the leader of the revolt against the United States after the Spanish-American War, and who has reentered politics, is reported to be taking an active part in revolutionary propaganda. There are many rumors that the Katipunan, a Filipino secret society, is renewing its activities against the Americans. Aguinaldo has been insistent in the conferences, of the native chieftains that his sole purpose in renewing his activities has been to organize them to accomplish their independence.

#### AGUINALDO'S POSSIBLE MOTIVE

It is possible that Aguinaldo's real motive for his activity comes from a fear that the Jones Bill, providing for Filipino independence, may not be passed, and that he is scheming to forestall control of the expected discontent of the natives.

The foregoing dispatch reads very much like the one published in the New York Sun of January 24 from its Manila correspondent, which is as follows:

(Special cable dispatch to the Sun)

Manila, January 23.

Aguinaldo, the infamous leader of the revolt against American in the Philippines, has reentered politics while all the time protesting against being interrupted in his farm work. He has frequent conferences with Filipino revolutionary committees of chieftains ostensibly for the purpose of organizing the militia preparatory to the accomplishment of independence of the Islands. It is believed, however, that the real motive for the activity of Aguinaldo is an outgrowth of the fear that the Jones bill providing for Philippine independence may not be passed, and he is prompted by the desire to forestall control of the anticipated discontent among Filipinos because of the non-fulfillment of the promise of politicians.

Mr. Chairman, the statements contained in these dispatches are both false and salnderous. There are no Filipino revolutionary committees, and if there were, Aguinaldo would be the last man to connect himself with them. It is true that Aguinaldo attended the monster meeting held at Manila to celebrate the Democratic victory in the United States, but so did thousands of other prominent Filipinos and some Americans. Of this meeting Justice Moreland, of the Supreme court, said to me:



If the American people could have witnessed this great demonstration they would give you your sight to witness such a great gathering so orderly that not even one policeman was necessary to preserve order.

Justice Garsons and Trent both indorsed this view.

Gen. Aguinaldo was not one of the selected speakers, but he responded very briefly to the call made upon him for a speech. He spoke scarcely a minute, and what he said was this:

I am pleased to join you in celebrating the victory of the Democratic Party, which means to us that the day of our independence is approaching; but I wish to impress upon you that you must cure that independence. You must show the world by your actions that you are capable of governing yourselves.

#### WHO SENT THESE DISPATCHES

These were almost his exact words, and yet for saying them he has been shamefully abused and misrepresented by an American correspondent of a New York newspaper, who has been guilty of conduct so outrageous that he has been driven out of office. This man is now revenging himself upon my people for exposing his conduct by sending such dispatches as these to America.

#### AGUINALDO'S DENIAL

I have today received the following cablegram from Señor Osmeña, speaker of the Philippine Assembly, which I shall published in the Record in this connection. It contains the indignant denial of Gen. Aguinaldo, who, whatever his enemies may say of him, has never been investigated for and found guilty of grafting:

Manila, January 27, 1913.

QUEZON, Washington, D. C.:

The following from Aguinaldo: "Please deny very strongly the truth of the dispatches from Manila accusing me of political agitation preparatory to a revolt. On the contrary, I am trying to help preserve union among all elements to insure public order, which is necessary to the stability of a future Filipino government, because I am confident, and the people are also confident, that the Jones bill will be passed. I say this in spite of the possible machinations of the enemies



of Philippine independence, who are said to be trying to brew all sorts of disturbances and to employ all means to prevent the passing of said bill."

OSMEÑA

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE WILL NOT REVOLT  
AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to say right here to the American people that the Filipinos are not preparing for revolt. They have faith in the sense of justice of the American people, and they expect to get from the generosity of the American people their freedom and independence. They will never fight the United States (applause), and much less will they fight the United States after the Democratic Party has come into power (applause), the party that is solemnly pledged to give the Philippine Islands Independence. In spite of the fact that it is occasionally said that your political platforms mean nothing -

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from the Philippine Islands has expired.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentlemen have five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BORLAND) asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from the Philippine Islands have five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE BELIEVE THE DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY WILL GRANT THEM INDEPENDENCE

Mr. QUEZON. In spite of the fact, I say, that we are being told that your party platforms mean nothing, we have a different conception of the great political parties of the United States. We believe that those parties stand by what they say to their people and to our people. We can not believe that your national platforms are meaningless. We believe that they are the official and responsible statements to the American people and to the world of what the party that is coming into power is going to do. (Applause). Is it conceivable that under these conditions, believing as we do most implicitly in the promises and pledges of the Democratic party, that my people will take up arms against the United States? What possible reasons could there be for such an unnatural and suicidal course? Can any sensible American, whether he believes the Filipinos capable of self-government or not, credit these untruthful and inspired reports? Unfortunately we have learned from the saddest of experiences what armed opposition to the power of the United States means. It has cost us hundred of thousands of lives drenched



our fair land with blood, and destroyed millions of dollars worth of property. We have, I say again, learned from a hard experience what it means to oppose with arms the force of America.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman. If the gentleman will permit, how many lives have been lost in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Well, according to a newspaper report attributed to Gen. Bell, the present commanding general of the Philippines, in the island of Luzon alone 600,000 men, women, and children were killed during the war or died as a result thereof.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. DIES. You understand, of course, that in killing your people we did it for their good? (Laughter)

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to speak of these harrowing incidents except for the purpose of convincing the House, if that be necessary, that it is impossible for us to again think of such a thing as engaging in an armed conflict with American troops, even if there were some reasons for revolting against the United States, because we know too well what the result would be; such being the case, how any sane person could conceive of us revolting when there is no reason today for so doing - and I hope that there will never be any reason for so doing, because the administration shortly to come into power in the United States is pledged to grant the Philippine independence. I hope that if the Filipinos ever go to war they will go to war in support of the United States and not against the United States. (Applause)

And it is very easy to accomplish this. It is very easy to make every Filipino ready to die for the American flag, if you will only heed their cry and give them what they are asking for and longing for - their independence. (Applause)

If this is done, and the time should ever come when you should have a war in the Far East, gentlemen, you will find every man, woman, and child in my country fighting for you and for your flag. (Applause.)



## MR. QUEZON'S ADDRESS

(Delivered before the Philippine Society at  
New York City, June 10, 1913.)

Mr. Quezon spoke as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, Guests, Gentlemen of the Philippine Society:

It seems rather too presumptuous on my part to have accepted the invitation to address this distinguished gathering in company with such prominent speakers as those who have preceded me and will follow me; but since I read the story of Henry Ward Beecher I have never hesitated to speak in public merely because of my acquired poor English. The story goes that a stenographer once proposed to Mr. Beecher that he be allowed extra pay for reporting Mr. Beecher's sermons in consideration of correcting grammatical errors. "And how many errors did you find in this discourse of mine?" asked the great preachers. "Just two hundred and sixteen." "Young man," asked Mr. Beecher solemnly, "when the English language gets in my way it doesn't stand a chance."

Gentlemen, I do not think that I could show my appreciation of the very high compliment paid me at being one of the chosen speakers this evening better than by opening my mind and my heart to you, and it is my purpose to do so. This is tathering of practical business men, and I would be wasting your time and my own if I tried to appeal to your sentiments instead of giving you bare facts. If in the course of my remarks I should utter any word that may be construed as criticism of persons or policies, pray, remember, that I do not mean to offend anybody, for I entertain due respect for those whose views are at variance with mine on the subject I am about to discuss. I do not impugn the motives of those who are in disaccord with me on the Philippine question, but, of course, I assert that they are wrong.

## FEELING OF FILIPINOS

"I would rather starve a free man than be fed a mere thing." These are not my own words, but I cordially endorse them. Neither are they the words of an ignorant man, but of a great President of a famous University. Indeed, they are not the words of an irresponsible demagogue, but of a man now holding the highest public office in the greatest Republic of modern times. "I would rather starve a free man than be fed a mere thing," says Woodrow Wilson, in his article, "The New Freedom." These words express the sentiment of every man, no matter under what sky he is born, if he has the right kind of stuff in him, if he has the proper sense of man's dignity. Moreover, those words express the sentiment of every people the world around who are conscious of their



own nationality. Surely, those words express the sentiment of every man, indeed of the whole people of the Philippine Islands, and in the true meaning of those words you will find the explanation of the discontent of the Filipinos with their present political status. And until this fact is fully realized, but not until then shall we have found the key that will open an era of better understanding between the Filipinos and the Americans who are interested in Philippine affairs.

I might well consider my task this evening finished with the foregoing remarks and let you ponder upon them. But I wish to be more explicit.

Ever since American occupation of the Islands two different policies have been proposed by the two great political parties then in existence in the United States. One policy was to indefinitely retain the control of the Islands in view of the assumed unfitness of the people thereof to take care of themselves until some unknown century when the said people shall be fit for self-government and in the interim to develop the natural resources of the Archipelago through American capital and establish schools and build all sorts of means of transportation and communication. This policy considered the question of independence for which we fought one after the other, both the Spanish and American domination as something that the Filipinos of today may properly continue to have in mind, but they must have "out of sight." The other policy was to grant Philippine Independence as it has been granted to Cuba. Inasmuch as the sponsors of the first policy were in power when the United States took possession of the Archipelago and remained in power until last March, they consistently proceeded to put into practice their policy; they induced American capital to come into the Islands; they built schools, roads, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc., they made a successful effort to have free trade between the Philippines and the United States. At the very beginning of this policy they prophesied that in proportion to the increase of our trade with the United States our content and satisfaction to live under American tutelage would increase, and they predicted the day when the Filipinos of their own desire would never serve their connection with the United States. In order that they may not prove to be false prophets, those who thought thus coupled their forecast with the astounding reasoning that the Filipinos wanted independence now because they were not ready for it, but when they were fit to take care of themselves they would prefer to continue to be the wards of this great nation.

#### POLICY OF DEVELOPMENT

On the thirteenth of next August the United States will have been in the Philippines for fifteen years,



and on that same date, thirteen years of unbroken peaceful domination by this country over the Islands will have clasped. During all this time the policy of material development has been consistently pursued. Although at the cost of increasing our taxes, besides bonding ourselves and our sons, the Government succeeded in providing the Islands with more and better schools, more and better means of communication, and our trade has increased manifold. I shall not occupy my time by enumerating what has been done in the Philippines along those lines, for nothing about the Islands is better known in the United States and the rest of the world than these so-called accomplishments of the Philippine Government. Government officials and private persons, supporters of this policy, have filled official documents, books, magazines, newspapers and whatnot, with detailed accounts of the wonders done since American occupation, always giving the whole credit to American officials and using this tale as strong argument for the perpetual preservation both of the regime and the individuals in office who claim the responsibility for such wonderful achievements. Far be it from me to minimize the merit in this respect of those whose policy I am now discussing. But is it fair to forget that nothing could have been done in the Islands without the enthusiastic co-operation of the Filipino people? Who paid and is paying for these improvements? Who has made them? Would any increase in our trade have been possible had we not tilled the soiled and multiplied our production. You boast yourselves, and rightfully so, with having done in the Philippines in a few years what has not been done in other countries in generations. But while this speaks of your energy and wisdom, it also speaks of ours and of our advancement in civilization when you came to the Islands.

#### FILIPINOS NOT WANTED

THIS simply shows that we should not be considered as wards because we are full-grown, responsible people. Consider and compare the progress that has been made by your real wards in this country for whose welfare and prosperity you are more in duty bound to look after because they are also Americans. The Indians and the negroes have had all the advantages of your initiative, of your help, of your personal example, of your unlimited resources; they are here living in the midst of your wonderful civilization, yet, how much have they progressed? How many generations have you been taking care of them? Does not the contrast of what has been accomplished in the Philippines emphatically demonstrate that the effects obtained there are due to the existence in this case of a progressive, intelligent people, alive to their responsibilities and rights? It is evident that neither you nor anybody else could do anything for us without our own because no one can be helped if he does not help himself also; but it is not proven that we could not have done the same thing that has been done in the last



decade without the establishment of American sovereignty in the Island. But let me return to my point: I was saying that the material development policy has been going on for the last thirteen years. Yet the predicted satisfaction of the Filipinos has not appeared anywhere and there are no signs of its appearing in the far distant horizon.

In 1903, the then Governor-General of the Philippines, in a public speech made before the Union Reading College, alluded with regrets to the ill-feeling between Americans and Filipinos in the Islands, but expressed his conviction that the next decade will change that condition. In 1909 another Governor-General, before the Quill Club, deplored that the gulf between Americans and Filipinos was growing wider. Last May an American who has lived for nearly ten years in the Philippines wrote in one of the magazines: "Our yoke today is far more odious to the native educated and uneducated, than when we started."

#### GROWTH OF PREJUDICE

These statements show that every year that has rolled by with the policy so far pursued has witnessed a growing misunderstanding between the Filipinos and their American associates.

From this it should be clear to all thinking men that material prosperity alone will not satisfy the Filipinos. Dr. Barrows, once Director of Education of the Philippines, in an article published in the Journal of Race Development, of October, 1910, among other things, wrote:

"The opening of American markets to their products in unquestionably bringing a new era of business prosperity the Philippines x x x. Everywhere there is increased industrial activity. The present administration in laying great emphasis on the material development of the Islands, many millions of pesos have been spent on roads; other millions for permanent buildings, for harbor improvements, for the beautification of Manila. Newly constructed railroads are operating. Added exertions are being made for the suppression of human and animal disease. The peace which has obtained in practically all parts of the Archipelago since 1906 continues unbroken. Yet this prosperity is not a solution of the Philippines problem, nor do these economic successes, striking as they are, meet the real expectation of the people themselves x x x

"The Philippines have been prosperous before. There were long periods under Spanish rule when trade rapidly increased, when each year added new areas to productive cultivation, when settlers and adventurers from Spain crowded the Islands, and yet the real social discontent was not changed, and revolution was



not averted. No more economic policy is adequate to the growing aspirations for such a race as the Filipinos".

And Dr. Barrows is right in what I have quoted. Despite the increase of our trade, the large number of our schools, the improvement of our means of communication and transportation, and other social and religious activities we are more dissatisfied with the present regime. What then do we need? What do we want? We need, we want to accomplish that which alone can really make a people happy: our own self-mastery. In the language of President Wilson, "We would rather starve a free people than be fed a mere thing."

In other words, it is not your philanthropy, your religious, commercial or governmental aid that we need or desired; it is your recognition of our right to claim and to enjoy that which is most dear to you: Freedom.

#### OBJECTION TO FREEDOM

I know there are to forthcoming answers to this remark to this remark of mine. I have heard them many a time; I have read them in print: First, that it is not true that the masses of the Filipino people want independence; that, on the contrary, they are perfectly content to live under American rule; that they do not know what independence means, and would not know what to do with it if they had it; that only a small and noisy group of irresponsible demagogues, office-seekers and politicians who hope or expect to be in power in the event of Philippine independence is crying loudly against American rule.

Second: That the words of President Wilson are not applicable to the present condition of the Filipinos, because, although they do not possess political independence, they have individual freedom.

To those who hold the first theory, let me say, that they are wholly wrong. The Filipinos have given all possible evidences in words as well as in deeds of their unanimous and very earnest desire of becoming an independent nation. Only an inexplicable blindness can fail to see this fact. Force and very superior force alone can keep the Filipinos in subjection.

To those who assert that the Filipinos, although under American guardianship are a free people, let me say that freedom and guardianship are two incompatible ideas. The fact that the Filipinos are given in the Organic Act the same individual rights that the American citizens have, with the exception of the right to bear arms and be tried by jury, does not make the Filipinos as free as an American citizen, as has been alleged. A free man is he whose rights



are secured by himself and cannot be taken away from him at will. Our so-called individual rights are granted to us by Congress, which has reserved the right to take them away from us at any time.

The case of Canada Australia and other self-governing British colonies has been cited to prove that a people may not have national independence and yet be free. But the people of these colonies are a free people because their very loose connection with Great Britain is of their own will and the mother country may not interfere with their affairs. Our status is wholly at variance with the Canadians or Australians. We are not free, neither as a people nor as individuals.

### NO COMPROMISE POSSIBLE

Now, Gentlemen, I am sure that I am correct when I say that nothing short of Philippine Independence granted now, or promised to be granted within a comparatively short time will satisfy the Filipinos, and every day's delay in doing this makes the Filipinos more unhappy and discontented. And my knowledge of the feeling of my people cannot be successfully challenged. I have been fortunate enough to be associated with all classes of Filipinos. I have mingled with the poor as well as with the rich. Moreover, I have witnessed from my childhood this growing sentiment of nationality and desire for independence. I was reared by that same feeling. When I express the feeling of my people I am sure that I am not wrong because I am expressing my own feelings; and when I express my own feelings I know that I am expressing those of my people because mine have been inspired by the national spirit that fills the atmosphere throughout the Islands.

The trouble with many right-minded Americans is that they refuse to take notice of what we Filipinos say. Because they have lived in the Islands for a short or long period of time, they feel that they know all about the Filipinos when they really don't know anything or know very little about them. And if they would ask themselves how they have acquired their alleged knowledge of the Islanders they will find that theirs is but second-hand information, no matter how long they have lived in the Islands. Because American residents in the Philippines do not mingle intimately with the people especially if they are men occupying high positions in the government, in the church, whether protestant or catholic, or in business.

If you want to know how we feel and what we think, you must take our words for it. You cannot learn it in any other way. Do not always attribute to us selfish motives.



The Philippine Assembly, the only national representative body of the Archipelago, has several times petitioned Congress to grant the Islands independence. Every municipality in the Islands has done the same thing. The election of President Wilson was celebrated as no other event has ever been celebrated by the Filipinos, simply because they understood the coming into power of the Democratic Party as meaning the fulfillment of the other policy proposed for the Islands, to which I have referred, viz: the recognition of their national independence.

And if this policy is put into practice with the same earnestness as the other policy of material development has been tried, an era of good will, of confidence, of love, will immediately start among the Filipinos toward the United States and the Americans in the Philippines. And this policy should be at once carried out for our benefit as much as for yours. What a disappointment for us if, God forbid, the present administration should fail to redeem its platform pledge with regard to the Islands! Where then shall we turn our faith? But we have no doubt of the purpose of this Government. We have absolute faith in the man at its head.

We are apprehensive, however, of the final outcome, because we see a very strong and combined campaign being made interested parties to create a public opinion in this country adverse to Philippine independence. Since the triumph of the Democratic party, all sorts of influences are being brought to bear upon the powers that be to dissuade them from keeping faith with their party promises. American papers in the Islands last year printed editorials urging every American residing therein to write to his parents, relatives and friends at home, asking them to appeal to their respective representatives in Congress to vote against Independence. Speaking of lobbyists, the lobby on the tariff is a joke as compared with that lobby against independence. Since the election of President Wilson, especially since he expressed his hope of depriving yourselves of the Philippines as your frontier, the newspapers and magazines have been loaded with literature misrepresenting and abusing the Filipinos, describing them as uncivilized people with all human vices without compensating virtues and foretelling a state of general anarchy in the islands in the event of independence. I have said on different occasions almost everything that there is to be said on this subject and it is not worth our while to discuss it. The Filipinos are satisfied that they have given ample proofs of their capacity to run their affairs. They are convinced that the facts when impartially examined speak very loud of their fitness to govern themselves. They know that, while they are not any better, neither are they any worse than the other inhabitants of the globe. I merely wish to remark that



it is with profound sorrow that I have seen so malign a campaign against independence carried out, because it only embitters the Filipinos and affords no advantage to anybody. How can the Filipinos help resenting such unwarranted attack upon them? I sincerely deplore the fact that the immense majority of Americans interested in the Philippines should believe thing in their power to defeat the aspirations of the Filipinos.

There is really only one class of Americans in the Islands whose personal well-being may be jeopardized by the granting of Philippine independence: there are the employees of the Philippine Government: but even these, they will not necessarily be all affected, because an independent Philippine Government may find it convenient to retain their services: the school teachers, for instance, engineers and other technical employees may be needed for sometime yet as they were needed in Japan for many years. As to the other who have to be dismissed because Filipinos can take their places there can be found some way of protecting their interests when they leave the service. The other Americans, priests, missionaries, ministers or business men have no real reason to fear that their respective conditions will suffer in the last by the adoption of a policy frankly looking toward early independence. Why should the American priest, minister or missionary need the backing of his Government to make converts to his church in the Philippine Islands? Why should an American merchant need the presence of his flat to do business with us?

Their opposition is ill-advised. The success of their respective undertakings requires the good will of the Filipino people, and they are rapidly alienating them with their well-known attitude.

Let me utter a word of friendly caution. This Society is now composed of those who are interested in the Islands in several capacities, and its avowed purpose is "to create a more sympathetic understanding between the Filipinos and the American people. If as individuals you wish to succeed in your enterprise in the Islands or as an organization you propose to accomplish your proclaimed purpose, do not allow yourselves, individually or through this organization to partake directly or indirectly in this campaign of misrepresentation and abuse of the Filipino people. It is not only your patriotic duty but it will also be your profit to give the American people a true conception of the Filipinos, so that the day of final adjustment of our mutual interests and rights may no longer be deferred.

Be sure that American enterprises in the Islands, whether philanthropic, religious or commercial can succeed only on the basis of just treatment of the Filipinos by this Government. And just treatment to



us means but one thing: the recognition that we have as much right as Cuba and as the United States has to independent national existence.

Governor-General Taft, in a speech made in 1903 before the Union Reading College at Manila said:

"The American trade in these islands-and by that I mean the demand of Americans for goods and supplies-can never exceed that of 20,000 people in addition to the soldiers who may be here. The demand of the Filipino people will be a demand, when created and encouraged, of seven and one-half million persons. The only hope, the only possible source, of real business and of real trade that can be dignified by the name, which the United States or any of our merchants, whether living in the United States or in these islands, can have is with the Filipino people. x x x It that be true, does it need a business man to tell-may not a laymen say with the utmost confidence - that a policy which embitters and renders hostile a whole people to the American merchants in these islands must necessarily defeat all hopes of increasing the American business here?"

This is but a commonplace truth. If it has not been verified as yet, it is not only due to the patience and self-control of the Filipinos, which is almost unlimited, but because in spite of what has been said and done, to offend them, they have not lost their faith in the American people. The truth of Mr. Taft's quoted words has not been proven because the Filipinos hoped to stir up the sense of justice of the American people in their favor. They have cooperated with the government; they have welcomed American priests and missionaries, they have worked for and transacted business with American capitalists, because they thought that by so doing they were giving proofs of their capabilities as a nation and would thus convince the American people that they should be allowed to govern themselves.

Their ambition to have a national existence has been the overwhelming force that make them strive to acquire education, to better their sanitation, to increase and accumulate wealth and raise their standard of living. This same force has been the magic and secret cause that made possible the work of three generations done in a single decade. Do not allow the present administration to carry out its avowed policy of granting Philippine independence; disappoint in this manner the Filipino people; let them know that no one of the living will see their country free and you will kill them as a body politic. Their enthusiasm for advancement will die out. They will not do as much business; for what is the use of wealth if we cannot look at our fellowmen as equal to equal? Their children will lose the eager interest for learning they now have; for what is the use of knowing the



rights of man and of people if you cannot enjoy them? An educated man is more unhappy if he is not free than an ignorant man under the same conditions. But let us have independence and our progress will receive the greatest impulse.

Conditions ? You may impose what you will, for the granting of that boon. There is nothing that we are not prepared to do or give to accomplish our national ambition. Do you want to make the Philippines the scene of your religious activities? You will be perfectly welcome to do so. We shall guarantee full protection to your priests and ministers. Do you want our market for your goods and do you wish to use it as your base of supply for your Oriental trade? We shall give you every facility you need. Do you want to develop our natural resources? We shall open to you our mines and our forests, and shall give you our labor. It is not better for you to deal with us as friends in whatever field we may meet?

And we can be friends only, if we are not your subjects. There can be no friendship between the ruler and the ruled. There can be no friendship unless there is mutual respect. And you can not respect us, while we are treated as your wards. These are no perfunctory words. Every American familiar with conditions in the Philippine Islands knows with what hardly concealed contempt the natives are treated by the American there. The attitude of superiority, which is natural in an Anglo-Saxon is augmented by the feeling of political mastery which necessarily is felt by colonial administrators. And this is, of course, offensive to the Filipinos, and it is an offense that reaches the inner-most of a man's soul. This evil can only be remedied by the recognition of the right of the Filipinos to be free from all foreign rule.

My closing words, therefore, are: If you want to have a good market in the Philippines; if you want to exercise there the influence of your ministers and priests; if you want your institutions admired; if you want to gain our love-there is only one policy that can accomplish this-that of immediately taking the steps for the speedy granting of Philippine independence.



SPEECH OF HON. MANUEL QUEZON,  
Resident Commissioner from the Philippines  
before the U. S. Senate Committee  
on the Philippines, January 1914.

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The preamble must remain in the bill if it is desired by this Government in providing a new organic law for the Philippine Islands to have the loyal cooperation of the Filipino people in the government created by that law. In the relations among peoples, as well as among individuals, the basis of cooperation is confidence, and confidence can be duly had when promises are kept in good faith. No matter what might be said to the contrary, it is a fact that the Filipinos are positively convinced that they have been repeatedly and consistently assured by high executive officials of the United States that the ultimate purpose of the American people in the Philippine Islands is to grant them independence. To be sure, Mr. Taft has never failed, as was the case with Ex-President Roosevelt, when they spoke of ultimate independence for the Philippine to add that when the time came when the Filipinos were fit to decide for themselves whether they want independence or not, they might find it to their interest to establish between themselves and the United States such a bond as exist between Canada and England, in which case independence should not be granted. I noticed that in his testimony ex-President Taft stated that he made no promise of independence to the Filipino people. Not to mention others I shall refer the committee to the special report of Mr. Taft, as Secretary of War, to the President of the United States, written when he came back from the Philippines to inaugurate the Philippine Assembly. In that report he concretely stated that many Filipinos were anxious to find out what the policy of the United States affecting the Filipinos should be, and this is his answer:

"There are in the Philippines many who wish that the Government shall declare a definite policy in respect to the islands, so, that they may know what that policy is. I do not see how nay more definite policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine Government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility. x x x It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the toward self-government become greater and greater



the ultimate independence of the island."

#### A CLEAR PLEDGE.

Isn't this language clear enough? Perhaps we do not understand English well, but the construction we place upon that language is that independence shall be granted to us as the gradual extension of self-government reaches its limit. Indeed it was not even necessary for Mr. Taft to say so explicitly, as he does, since the natural outcome of your policy in the Philippine Islands, inaugurated the Philippines. Were it not for the fact that there are Americans, especially in the Philippines, who claim now that we should never be and shall not be necessary for this Congress, in enacting this bill, to state that it is the purpose of the United States to grant independence to the islands, What have you been doing in the Philippines? You have been educating the people; you are giving them education; and in your schools you are teaching them individual and political liberty. Together with this education you gave them autonomy, first in the municipalities and later in the Provinces; then you created an assembly, and now they control the legislature, because they have a majority in the commission. If you are going to be consistent, there must come the day when, in the gradual advance of this policy you will reach the point where all governmental powers will be placed in their hands; and since it is inconceivable that when they have assumed full control of that government, you would still prefer to retain sovereignty over them, with the responsibility to protect them from foreign aggression without any authority, the logical conclusion is that policy, which has been followed so far, will naturally lead to independence.

You might say, what, then, is the use of declaring in this preamble that it is the purpose of the United States to grant Philippine independence if that outcome is the logical conclusion of your present policy? The trouble is that there are now Americans who say that you should never give the Philippines their independence, and in view of this fact, if you should strike out the preamble, we shall be forced to believe that you have done so, because you do not propose to grant us independence; that, while you have started a policy that naturally would lead to independence, you have now changed your opinion at the behest of the American and other foreign business men in the Philippine Islands, because those are the interests that come to you and tell you: "We do not want you to leave the Philippines."

#### MEANING OF PREAMBLE.

The fair and sensible interpretation of that preamble, which is the interpretation that the Fili-



pino people will give to it, is this: that it is purpose of the United States to grant to the Philippines their independence, not when the Filipinos believe that they are ready for independence - because they have believed that all the time, and if their opinion on the subject were to be the final say this would not have been the bill before the Congress at this time, it would have been an immediate independence bill; but when in the opinion of the Congress we have conducted the government that you provide in this bill in a way that will justify the reasonable presumption that we shall establish and maintain a fairly decent government, a government that would keep order and offer protection to the rights of the people.

I am very anxious to see this bill enacted this session, and so are my people. After three years of service in Congress, I have reason to fear that if you begin amending this bill now it will not become law at this time. In the House of Representatives this bill went through with a great majority - five to one - but those in the House who are opposed to this or any other preamble containing some premise for Philippine independence would fight this bill when it returns to the House from the conference committee, a procedure that must take place if the Senate amend the preamble. This is a short session. The appropriation bills are in the way, and it seems to me practically impossible to secure the passage of the bill should there be important amendments thereto. So I prefer this preamble and this bill, with its slight defects, to any change in the legislation whatever. After all, perhaps, from the information that this committee has in its possession today, you can not be more definite in expressing your Philippine policy than this preamble is.

I am the last man to charge insincerity to the American people. The first speech I delivered upon the floor of the House was in acknowledgment of the high purposes of the American people in the Philippine Islands, and I know that my people do not charge the American people with insincerity in dealing with the Philippines. That would be a very serious and unfounded charge, and it would speak very poorly of our sense of gratitude. Mr. Taft himself paid the other day a very appropriate compliment to the sense of gratitude of the Filipinos when he spoke of those poor men who had been in jail, and the first thing they did upon their liberation was to send a modest present to Mr. Taft to show their appreciation of his intervention in the preparation of the writ of habeas corpus. Gratitude is one of the characteristics of the Filipino people. Without charging the American people at large with insincerity, a Filipino may well believe that unless he does everything in his power to secure a congressional declaration regarding Philippines independence the day may come when the purpose of the American people



may not be carried out. The Philippines are 10,000,000 miles away from the United States, . . . and the American people have no active interest in them. I have crossed this continent from one end to the other; I have delivered public addresses, and I have talked with the people; and I am glad to say that everywhere I went I have found that the sentiment of this country has been favorable to Philippine independence. It has really impressed me deeply to see that the consensus of opinion in the United States is to do everything to help the Philippines. But with it all, real, active interest in Philippine affairs there is none. Now, how is legislation enacted in self-governing countries like the United States? Through the pressure of public opinion. Since there is not and there will never be a strong pressure of public opinion in regard to Philippine legislation, a few Americans voicing their individual sentiments may defeat legislation for us.

If we let things go for years and years without a fixed policy expressly declared by the Congress as to what is going to be done in the Philippines- the purpose of the American people, which in my opinion is at present to grant Philippine independence, may be defeated by those who want to keep the islands, simply because there is not enough interest among the general public in Philippine affairs. That is the cause of our anxiety.

#### BILL JUSTIFIED.

As to the bill itself, whether the Filipino people are ready for immediate independence or not the enactment of this bill is justified by the fact- and in this case very much more literally than in the case of the preamble- that the announced policy of Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt is the gradual extension of self-government to the Filipino people. We have had an assembly since 1907. We think the assembly has done well. And we believe that the time is now ripe to take another step namely, the election of the Senate. I have noticed that criticisms have been made here of some laws enacted by the Philippine Assembly. I do not suppose it is necessary for me to say, speaking before Senators of the United States, that the adverse judgment of anybody upon legislation is not always conclusive. No . . . so-called party measures are ever enacted by the Congress without being denounced as unwise legislation. So I shall not undertake to answer those criticisms of our legislative actions except by the statement that I hope the merit of those criticisms will be carefully examined.

To me this preamble as it is only means one thing, and that is that it is an assurance that it is the purpose of the American people to give the



Philippines independence, when conditions in the islands are such that you may reasonably expect that we shall be able to establish a stable government. And that general announcement can be made now, because it implies another legislative step before independence is granted. Of course, there is a possible discussion as to what the word stable government means, but even if you use the words of Mr. Taft - that is to say, that you will give to the Filipino people their independence when they are capable of self-government - that language itself is subject to discussion. Any language used, unless it be a fixed date, which you say you can not now determine, is subject to discussion. But I am trying to explain what construction will be placed by the Filipinos upon this preamble and I say that it is a declaration that you intend to give us some day our independence; a declaration made solemnly and in good faith. As to the actual granting of that independence we know that it will not depend upon the noise that we Filipinos may make, but upon the facts that we may present to you in favor of our contention that the time has arrived when we shall be given independence.

#### VIEWS OF MR. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Roosevelt says that the United States, when it does grant Philippine independence, should depart entirely from the islands and retain no responsibility whatever for the Philippines. I have heard it stated by several gentlemen that when the Filipinos speak of independence they mean by that they want to be allowed to do in the Philippines as they please, while the United States Navy is in the harbor of Manila keeping foreign nations from coming in. Mr. Chairman, in fairness to the Filipino people, I want to say that we do not think of such a thing as that, we never have thought of it. It is true that many of us have been advocating the neutralization of the islands as the mean of guaranteeing Philippine independence, but we have never thought of making such neutralization a condition sine qua non of our independence. In other words, our independence is not to depend upon a neutralization treaty, and much less upon any protection from the United States. We understand that if we want independence we must assume its burdens. We must take the risk and the responsibilities. We are not the first people to have taken the risk of being independent, and if we really prize freedom, as we do, we should be glad and courageous enough to face the consequences of the situation.

We do not want any protectorate if we get independence. You would not want it, because it would be unfair and unjust to the United States; and we would not, because protection can never be afforded without impairment of the absolute free-



dom of the protected States, and we are more concerned about the substance of freedom than about the world independence. If we are going to have independence, we want real independence and not merely nominal independence.

The Filipinos can not be made to fight one against the other. One man may be purchased for fifty men, perhaps. That is an easy thing to do anywhere. The Philippines are not free from bad men, men who have no notion of patriotism or anything of that kind; but no intrigues can ever do anything in the Philippines that would cause serious quarrel between a large portion of the population and another. I know there are people who would want to believe that there is no sense of solidarity, no community of interest among the Filipinos; that they are jealous of one another; that they are not bound by any common tie. You have been told that there is no such thing as Filipino people. Such statements as these are, at best, evidences of ignorance on the part of those who style themselves experts in Philippine affairs.

This bill, outside of the preamble, may be divided into two parts. The first part is that which grants new powers to the Philippine government, and the second part that which confers the old powers as well as these new powers of that government largely upon the Filipino people themselves.

It seems that all those who have appeared before the committee have agreed that the provisions of the bill granting more powers to the Philippine government are wise; therefore I shall not take up the time of the committee in showing why these new powers should be granted. It just want to say this much in connection with this subject: contrary to the common impression in the United States, our advance in economic affairs has not been as great as our advance in education and, we might say, in political affairs. While the figures of our exports and imports have more than doubled during American regime, they are misleading in that the production of the country has by no means increased proportionately. The rice, as well as the sugar, that we used to produce in Spanish times was more than we produce today. To be sure, we get more money for our sugar now than we got then, simply because we have a better market, and this accounts in part for the difference in the total amount of money that comes to the Philippine Islands from our exports. Copra, it is true has increased both in quality and in price. Copra is the dried meat of the coconut. But our production of copra has increased not because of any special help rendered by the Government but because of the increase of coconut plantations, which was due to the better price of that article, resulting from new discoveries of its many applications.



## LACK OF ECONOMIC POWER.

The reason why the Philippine government has been unable to help the economic development of the country is that it did not have the necessary powers to do so. It did not have the power to regulate the tariff or the use of the natural resources. In the case of public lands, I do not believe in selling these lands in large tracts. This is the unanimous opinion among us Filipinos - that our public domain should be kept for the people - not only the people of today, but the people of tomorrow and that means that we should not alienate or sell those lands in large tracts to corporations or individuals, whether foreigners or natives. But, at the same time, we can not overlook the fact that in order to introduce in the Philippine Islands new methods of agricultural machinery, for instance, we need large parcels of land devoted to agriculture if money is to be spent profitably in the acquisition of new agricultural machinery. Therefore it would ameliorate the agricultural situation of the country if we could lease government lands in larger tracts for a certain period of time than can be done now under the organic act.

I believe that to provide in this bill the creation of a senate and deprive it of the power of confirmation knowing, as we know in the Philippines, that the Senate here has the power to confirm appointments, would only be taken as evidence that there is of confidence in the good judgment of the Philippine Senate that is to be created, an unnecessary and unjustified offense to this new body. This in itself may induce the senate to try to interfere, anyway, with the appointments of the governor. True, the senate would not have the right to confirm the appointments, but it has the right to partake in the legislation affecting appropriations, and it may indirectly thus place the governor in a position where he had to listen to the will of the senate about his appointments. If I may put it in different words, suppose you create this Philippine Legislature, composed of a senate and house of representatives, and the governor has the power to appoint the officers of the Philippine Government regardless of the senate. If the Governor General appointed a man who was not agreeable to the senate, all that the senate would have to do, would be to abolish in the appropriation bill the position of that man. Now, of course the governor would veto that appropriation bill, as he has the power to veto it, and this would provoke friction. There is every reason to have confidence in the Philippine Senate in that it would exercise that power wisely. My only fear is that the senate might not exercise as freely its power of confirmation as the Senate of the United States does, because they will be afraid, in case they disapprove of an appointment, that their action will be used as an argument to show that they are incapable of governing themselves."



SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE  
AMERICAN CONGRESS BY  
MANUEL L. QUEZON ON OCT-  
OBER 2, 1914.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a few words in behalf of Gen. Aguinaldo. I was at one time an officer in the Philippine Army. I was little more than a boy then. I left college in response to the call of my country to fight under her flag. I fought two years during the Philippine revolution. It was a horrible war, as all wars are. The Philippine Army was scarcely armed, clothed and fed, and it was facing one of the best-equipped, best drilled most gallant armies of the world. I took part in many a battle. For several months I was on the staff of Gen. Aguinaldo, then President of the Philippine Republic and commanding general of its army. Of course I had occasion to know Gen. Aguinaldo well and intimately, and from personal observation I say that he is a man of high character and patriotism.

The revolution against Spain was the outcome of a long peaceful campaign carried on, not precisely for independence, but to secure from the Spain Crown a more liberal government in the Philippine Islands. The revolution started on 1896, and in 1897 the Spanish governor general at Manila sought to secure peace by entering into an agreement with the Filipino leaders of the rebellion. It was agreed that the demands for governmental reforms should be granted and that \$800,000 in Mexican money, which was then the currency of the Philippine Islands, should be given to the revolutionists, as indemnity for the damages done to them and their families on account of that war, and as a payment for the guns that they surrendered, and - as it was agreed they should leave the Philippine Islands - also as a means of providing for their support and maintenance abroad. In view of the fact that the Spanish Government had agreed to grant all the liberal reforms asked for by the Filipinos before the revolution, started, no one can question the right, may the duty, of the Filipino revolutionists to end a contest which was causing so much loss of life and property to our country, and which evidently, at that time, could not accomplish more than what Spain had promised to concede. Aguinaldo, therefore, and his followers agreed to leave their country and not to return to the land that they had wished to live and die in. But they were willing to make this sacrifice, and to go far from their beloved ones, so that their people might receive and enjoy in peace the liberal reforms that were promised them. If these Filipinos exiles, who had fought for their country, and who were to be denied the right to live in it, had in fact used the money paid them by the Spanish Government for their own purposes, can anyone question their right to do so? Could they not properly have divided this money among themselves, that they might comfortably live thereon?

I have no doubt that if the Filipinos people



had been asked to vote on the question whether or not these men should receive that money, they would have decided that it be given to them. Yet Aguinaldo and his companions did not make such a use of the funds placed in their hands. They deposited the money paid to them - which never reached the total sum promised - in the bank and only used the interest. They live in Hongkong in almost complete poverty. Why did they do this? Because they did not know whether Spain would or would not actually comply with the agreement. They were accustomed to see promises broken by that Government, and therefore they kept the fund intact for patriotic purposes. They decided that if Spain, after they had left the Philippines should fail to grant to the people of the Philippine Islands the liberal reforms that were promised, they would as was their right, use the money to buy guns, and would by force compel the Spanish Government, that had betrayed them, to comply with the agreement.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. With pleasure.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. I just wish to ask a question for information. Why was it considered that it was necessary for Aguinaldo and his associates to leave the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Because the Spanish Government feared that if they remained in the Philippines actually used to buy guns.

THE CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from the Philippine Islands has expired.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be allowed five minutes more.

THE CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from the Philippines have five minutes more, is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Virginia how late he expects to run this evening?

Mr. JONES. Not much after 5 o'clock, I think.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUEZON. I was saying, Mr. Chairman, that this money, when Spain did not comply with her part of the bargain, when she refused to introduce in the Philippines those reforms that were asked, was used by Aguinaldo to buy guns, and with these guns we helped the United States in prosecuting her war with Spain. Our aim in that war is well known, and I shall not discuss it. But I want to say that we had retaken every town garrisoned by the Spanish, with the exception of Manila, which we were besieging, so that when the United States sent her troops there all she needed was a few thousands men, and with those few thousand men she compelled the surrender of the garrison of Manila.



I went to say another word about Gen. Aguinaldo. As I said before, I know him personally. I had served under him when I was little more than a boy. Gentlemen, Aguinaldo at one time wielded great power in the Philippines. During the revolution, of course, he was the principal military chief, with the powers of a dictator, just as the President of the United States would be a dictator here in case of war. He had all power, both civil and military, in his hands during the war, he had in his pocket the key to the treasury of the then independent Philippine government, including both that raised by taxation and that received from contributions. He had the confidence of the people? Nobody asked him what he was doing with the money. The time came when he was captured by Gen. Funston. He had then been exercising his authority for more than two years, but when the war was over Aguinaldo was as poor as he was when the war started (Applause on the Democratic side.)

Mr. Chairman, I want the gentleman on this floor to bear in mind this fact; I do not wish to make invidious comparisons with others, but I want to ask you how many revolutionary chiefs in other parts of the world who had the opportunity would have done what Aguinaldo did? How many would have been willing to go back to their homes as poor as ever after having had in their possession so much money that they could have appropriated without question? Aguinaldo is poor to-day. He is a simple farmer. Aguinaldo has not even accepted any position from the American Government, although it was ready to give him a good position. He has not even gone into politics. He has not tried to gain political preferment, even through the popular vote.

Why? He wanted to show the world that he fought for his country, not because of desire of personal profit or power, but out of patriotism, and that when he could not fight any longer he could go to his home and lead a peaceful and modest life, the life of a good citizen, working upon his farm, as he is doing now. Thus Aguinaldo has demonstrated that the Filipinos who had known how to fight know likewise how to work in time of peace. I need say no more. (Applause on the Democratic side.)



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PART OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED  
BY HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON,  
BEFORE THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE  
OCTOBER 15, 1914.

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Commissioner Quezon spoke in part as follows:

I consider it a great privilege to be here tonight and to partake as one of the speaker in the proceedings of this conference.

Inasmuch as this is the first time in many years that a duly authorized spokesman of the Filipino people addresses you, it is appropriate that he should voice the heartfelt sense of gratitude that the people of the Philippine Islands entertain for that great would, that noble spirit, the late Mr. Smiley, whose high regard for our welfare was shown by the fact that he selected as one of the important topics of this conference the problem confronting the United States in our far distant country.

I shall offer you tonight an exception to that rule, for my topic will be the administration of our present governor general. Governor-General Harrison has been now in the Philippine Islands one full year and he has accomplished something that had been done by none of his predecessors in anything like so full a measure - he has gained for himself and for the nation he represents the confidence and good will of the Filipino people. (Applause). Nevertheless the policies of Governor Harrison have been criticized and denounced, notwithstanding that those very policies have for the first time since the American occupation of the islands produced better understanding, more kindly appreciation on the part of the United States in assuming sovereignty over the archipelago. Why should the governor be criticised on this score? Can it be the desire of the American people to prevent the Filipinos from becoming reconciled to their presence? Is it not the paramount duty of every American in the Islands to do his share to bring about more cordial relations between the inhabitants of that country and the Insular government?

Governor Harrison did not go to the Philippines as a Democrat. He went as the representative of the American people; feeling as strongly as the most patriotic American could feel that it was his duty to help in redeeming the pledges of his country, and that as governor-general it was his privilege no less than his obligation to give the islands an administration that would be founded on generosity, wisdom, justice and the principles of self-government. The governor gave us an administration of that kind and he found a ready response on the part of the Filipino people.



Now, as to the Jones bill. One important end is accomplished by this bill. It will settle in the only practical and possible way the controversy regarding the capacity of the Filipino people for self-government. The Bill is so framed that, while the Filipinos will have ample opportunity to demonstrate their wisdom and patriotism, the powers reserved to the United States are sufficient to prevent, in case of a failure in this test, any serious harm to the people of the Islands themselves or to the United States.

What I have said relates shiefly to the administrative features of the bill. As to its preamble I have this to say: it is the one feature that with very few exceptions has incurred strong opposition from the Republican members of the House of Representatives. Many reasons for this opposition were assigned. Some have called the preamble meaningless; all have asserted that it was not legally a part of the bill. If it be in fact meaningless, I see no reason why there should be serious objection to it. At the very worst, it would do not harm. Why not then let it stand since it is urgently desired by the Filipino people and it will make them happy? Another form of opposition to the preamble was voiced by those who, while asserting that they believe in Philippine independence, yet contend that the time has not arrived when the Filipino people should be granted independence. It is the opinion of those who expressed such views that the preamble is misleading because it holds out to the Filipinos a hope for early independence that will not be realized and will therefore cause disappointment and dissatisfaction. For this reason they have said the preamble should be voted down. My answer to the proponents of this view is simple: The preamble does not promise either immediate or remote independence. It set forth no definite date; it requires a condition upon whose fulfillment independence shall be granted, regardless of the time taken in bringing about such a condition. The preamble plainly states that this independence is to follow as soon as a stable government shall have been established in the islands. The language is abundantly clear and no one who possesses any conception of government will be misled thereby. The Filipinos know what stability in government means. If the preamble be voted down, that fact in itself will cause the disappointment and discontent now feared by those who advocate the view I am discussing. They can place but one construction upon such action on the part of Congress, namely, that the promise of independence made be every president of the United States from and including President McKinley to and including President Wilson has been repudiated. Nothing that could be done by the United States would have the dreadful effect of destroying the confidence of the Filipino people as would such repudiation.

The Filipino people will be the more warranted in construing the defeat of the preamble as sure evi-



dence that the permanent annexation of the Philippines as a colony of the United States is intended, by the fact that there had been several speakers on the Republican side of the House who during the discussion of the Jones Bill frankly advocated the policy of permanent retention of the Philippine Islands. Notable among those who spoke to this purport is the leader of this minority himself, Mr. Mann. I need not tell you the nature of Mr. Mann's suggestion, because his speech was printed in every metropolitan newspaper and was indorsed, so far as it referred to the permanent retention of the islands, by the majority of the strongest journals of this country. You have doubtless read both Mr. Mann's speech and the newspaper comments thereon.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Mann's policy is new, nay, is revolutionary from the standpoint of the American people. Aside from the fact that it would reverse the Philippine independence policy put forward by McKinley, continued by Roosevelt and Taft and reiterated by Wilson, it would commit the United States frankly to a policy of imperialism wholly inconsistent with the basic principle upon which this Republic is founded. But I shall not undertake to go into this aspect of Mr. Mann's policy. I am addressing an audience of scientific, nonpartisan men and women who have more knowledge on this point than I. You have all studied government in your schools and doubtless some of you, at least, have taught it. What I am interested in combatting from this platform is the illusion of Mr. Mann that you can repudiate your early pledge of independence by voting down the preamble to the Jones Bill, and at the same time make autonomous government in so far as their domestic affairs are concerned, thereby weaning these people from their desire for independence. Ladies and gentlemen, the Filipino people do want and do urge independence of the United States now. I think they will always and forever want and urge independence. I am, however, dispassionate enough to admit a possibility that I may be wrong in this last prediction and that Mr. Mann may be right. But if the Filipino people are ever to prefer American sovereignty to their own, as Mr. Mann forecasts, it will not be when the preamble to the Jones Bill has been voted down, but, on the contrary, only on condition that it shall be voted only the Bill. If you inform the Filipino people that they shall have none of their so much longed independence they will the more crave for it. It is another case of forbideen fruit, ladies and gentlemen. (Laughter and applause.) But further, there is this other important reason. The Filipino people are now on the road toward their freedom. You have allowed them to take some first steps even at the time when their subjugation by military force had just been accomplished. The bill of rights is now as much a privilege of Philippine citizenship. You have



given them an elective assembly and Mr. Mann proposes, that they be given more and larger governmental powers. The progress toward freedom never stops when once begun until it reaches its culmination. The Filipino people will never be satisfied with any concession from the United States short of their complete freedom as a people. Such being the case, they will not be satisfied until you shall have placed in their own hands the decisions whether or not they shall be politically independent from the United States. The theory that a nation may be dependent upon another and yet be free holds true only when such dependence has been brought about with the consent, and by the free accord of the dependency. No matter how much of individual liberty or of self-government in domestic affairs a people may have, that people if subject to another not by reason of its own will but by sheer power of the latter so that the local government they possess is merely a concession of the part of the sovereign, is not free in fact or in theory. The Filipino people can truly be free under American sovereignty only if this nation shall say to them: "You may be an independent nation if you choose, or you may retain a political relationship with us, if you prefer. In either case you will have your own autonomous government with such a constitution as you yourself shall establish, and we shall claim no power to deprive you of either, the limitations of your autonomy being those only that are necessary for the exercise of our sovereignty in your international affairs." When the people of the Islands shall have obtained all those rights that belong to them by grace of God as a nation and a people, they may decide to remain beneath the American flag and to prove Mr. Mann a true prophet, but never otherwise.

Lc/



DELIVERED IN THE AMERICAN HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES

December 29, 1914.

Mr. Quezon:

Mr. Chairman, as if the European war did not afford enough sensational news, there have been sent during the past week by newspaper correspondents at Manila or from some other source dispatches that must have put the nerves of many readers in this as well as in my own country to a severe test. I refer to the current reports of an uprising among the Filipinos.

It is my purpose to call the attention of the House and of the American people to the true nature and purpose of these reports. A review of them will furnish a fair idea of what the so-called revolt now announced really is. On December 18 the following telegram was printed in the New York Herald and elsewhere.

Manila, Thursday,

"American and foreign business men here express the fear that the promises contained in the Jones Bill providing for a measure of independence for the Philippines might lead to an uprising of the natives."

This dispatch is very significant, because it at once affords the means for an interpretation of the other dispatches. We are told, in effect, that in the opinion of the American and foreign business men in the Philippines there will be an insurrection there should the preamble of the Jones bill, which contains this promise of independence, be approved by the Senate, where the bill is now pending. Who these American and foreign business men may be we are not told; why they fear an uprising of the natives should the islands be promised independence we are left to guess. Only one thing is apparent from the dispatches - the Senate is advised to strike out the preamble of the Jones bill lest it produce a revolt among the natives. As to this I desire only to note that if there is one feature in the Jones bill that meets with practically universal approval on the part of the Filipino people it is the preamble of the bill. Why, then, should they revolt if the Congress of the United States should satisfy their desire? I do not suppose and the correspondent of the Herald or his informants - if he had any - will ever be able to give us any adequate explanation of so absurd a conclusion.

But let me continue: At the time this dispatch was sent from Manila there was as yet no apparent sign of impending revolt; there was only the assertion that revolt would ensue upon the passage of the Jones bill, provided it contained a promise of independence. At the very earliest this bill could not get thru the Senate before the month of February, so



that we who had been forewarned of this impending outbreak could not look for the threatened trouble before that time, and then only in case the preamble had not been defeated in response to the suggestion contained in this dispatch.

Alas! On December 21, just three days after the above-referred- to dispatch saw the light in this country, the New York Times published the following cablegram:

Manila, December 20.

"Soldiers arriving from Corregidor Island report that two companies of Scouts there have been disarmed and that American soldiers have been supplied with full ammunition. They allege that a plot has been discovered to free the prisoners and start an uprising.

The military is silent, but the wildest rumors are current."

Many other newspapers published this same story, some of them with such details that the War Department deemed it necessary to inquire of the Governor General what truth there may be in these dispatches. Consequently the department sent to the Governor General the following cablegram:

"Special dispatch to New York Herald, December 17, reports threatened revolt Filipinos. Special dispatch New York Times, December 20 reports two companies Scouts on Corregidor Island have been disarmed and that plot has been discovered to free prisoners and start an uprising."

To which the Governor General answered:  
Referring to telegram from your office of 21st instant, no foundation whatever known here for either report."

It thus appears that neither the dispatch to the New York Herald nor that printed by the New York Times had any foundation in fact. How could such a disregard for truth be possible? In the dispatch to the Times we are given the number of companies that have been disarmed and the place where the attempted uprising took place, and yet there was not even a shadow of foundation for the whole thing. But this is not the worst. After the American authorities at Manila - the Governor General and the Commanding general - had officially denied that there had been any attempt on the part of the Scouts to make trouble, those who sent these messages to the newspapers I have quoted, instead of honestly acknowledging their misinformation, sought to make the American public believe that they told the truth, but that the military authorities were concealing it, as can be seen from the following cablegram published in the New York Tribune of December 24:



Manila, December 23,

"Trustworthy but unofficial reports declare that Artemio Ricarte is in the Philippines directing the seditionists. Tagalogs, it is stated, are drilling openly, and Cavite is a hotbed of revolutionists. Governor General Harrison is taking no action, but the military authorities are preparing for an outbreak. The infantry at Manila are sleeping on their arms. It is denied by military officers that they have discovered a plot among the Filipino Scouts on Corregidor Island under Ricarte's direction, to liberate prisoners, seize the treasury; and send money to Hongkong to finance a Philippine revolt: The report however, is credited by others. The government has issued arms to civilians on Fraile and Carabao Islands."

This cable reiterates the alleged plot among the Filipino Scouts, and asserts that while it is denied by the military authorities, "the report is credited by others". Can any reasonable person fail to recognize the unfairness - may, the evident malice - of this dispatch?

It is to be noted not only that in this latest report the story of a plot among the Scouts is reiterated, but that other more alarming news is given. "Artemio Ricarte," it is asserted "is in Manila directing the seditionists. The Tagalogs are drilling openly, and Cavite is a hotbed of revolutionists. Gov. Gen. Harrison is taking no action, but the military authorities are preparing for an outbreak. The infantry at Manila are sleeping on their arms."

Mr. Chairman, I must pause here for an instant to sound my most energetic protest against the infamous suggestion contained in this telegram, that Go. Gen. Harrison is guilty either of criminal negligence of his duties or of disloyalty to his own Government @ the Government of which he is the official representative in the insular administration. Such a suggestion as this should provoke the just indignation of every self-respecting American. While I am a Filipino, and while as everybody knows, I advocate early withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippines, yet so long as the American flag is there I owe allegiance to that flag, and therefore I resent this cowardly and absolutely baseless aspersion upon the integrity of the man who represents this Nation in my country.



But the New York Tribune is not the only newspaper which has been furnished such news. On December 23 the New York Times submitted to the Secretary of War the following cablegram which had been received by it from Manila:

"Riot guns are being distributed to American civilians on Carabao and Fraile Islands, and 100 rounds, with full equipment, has been distributed to soldiers in Manila. Barrels supposed to contain cement were shipped to Corregidor and found to contain bolos. Two native scout officers and companies were disarmed and confined in Corregidor.

The plan was to free prisoners by a sudden night attack, overpowering scout guard and capturing the island. The day was fixed for between Christmas and New Year. In the past few months there has been notable increase so-called boy scout organizations, composed mostly of grown men, drilling throughout Manila Provinces."

Thereupon the Secretary of War, on December 24, sent to the Gov. General the following cablegram:

New York Tribune publishes cable to-day from Manila announcing preparations military to prevent carrying out plot followers of Ricarte for insurrection and disarmament two companies scouts at Corregidor and armament civilians in the islands in Manila Harbor. New York Tribune has cable as follows:

"Riot guns are being distributed to American civilians on Carabao-Fraile Islands, and 100 rounds, with full equipment, has been distributed to soldiers in Manila. Barrels supposed to contain cement were shipped to Corregidor and found to contain bolos. Two natives scout officers and companies were disarmed and confined on Corregidor. The plan was to free prisoners by a sudden night attack, overpowering scout guard and capturing the island. The day was fixed for between Christmas and New Year. In the past few months there has been notable increase so-called boy scout organizations, composed mostly of grown men, drilling throughout Manila Province."

New York Times says the above information was received on high authority. Publication of this was probably suppressed because of strong statement of the Secretary of War to Washington representative of New York Times.



The Secretary of War desires to know whether there is any foundation whatever for reports of this character, recently become frequent.

While the War Department was awaiting the answer of the Governor General practically every newspaper in the United States published on December 26, the story that an outbreak had taken place in Manila on Christmas Eve.

Let me read one of these stories:

REVOLT PLOT IN THE PHILIPPINES WAS SERIOUS -  
10,000 FILIPINOS IN MANILA PLANNED TO ATTACK  
FORTS - OUTBREAKS IN THE PROVINCES.

Manila, December 26.

Eight Filipinos have been arrested on the charge of sedition as a result of an abortive rising in Manila and its environs Thursday night. Further arrests are probable.

From Army sources it is learned that a general warning was sent to all officers Thursday afternoon that fully 10,000 Filipinos in Manila alone were ready for a concerted attack on Fort Santiago, the Cuartel España, the Cuartel Infanteria, and the medical depot.

Military units were immediately prepared, and a street patrol was started at dusk.

Constabulary agents who are members of the secret societies disclosed the plans for an uprising, thus enabling a force of constabulary and police to disperse gatherings at Bagumbayan, Paco, and Navotas, near Malabon.

#### SAILORS FIGHT WITH CHAIRS

At Caloocan a squad of American sailors seized chairs when a force of Filipinos approached a dance hall which they were gathered and, using the chairs as weapons, routed the Filipinos, of whom quite a number were injured.

The rising was evidently poorly organized and lacked leaders. It was composed mostly of persons implicitly trusting Artemio Ricarte, a revolutionary, who conducts a continual propaganda from Hongkong, to which he was banished by American authorities some time ago.

Ricarte, it is said, advised that the anti-American attempt be made on Christmas Eve, when American officers would be celebrating the holiday.



Reports from the Province tell of minor risings and occasional violence, but details are lacking.

#### SITUATION WELL UNDER CONTROL

The situation to-day, from all appearances, and according to official statements is well under control.

In more or less the same language this story was printed in many newspapers and was apparently taken very seriously by many editors, since it called forth editorials pointing out the unwisdom of enacting at this time any measure granting more self-government to the Filipinos and looking toward independence. This result is exactly what the authors of these dispatches have been trying to accomplish. In order to influence American public opinion against any liberal legislation for the Philippines they told of uprisings said to be probable if such legislation should be written into the statute books; then, of a plot of scout soldiers, of the arming of civilians by military authorities, and finally of an actual general revolt said to have occurred on Christmas Eve.

I have already demonstrated that both the civil government and the Army headquarters have denied that any plot on the part of the scouts has been discovered, and that there had been any arming of civilians. Let me now analyze the character of this general outbreak, as disclosed by the story itself as I have read it. The dispatch says that "fully 10,000 Filipinos in Manila alone were ready for a concerted attack on For S ntiago, the Cuartel de España, the Cuartel de Infanteria, and the medical depot". This sounds like a very serious uprising, does it not? Teh thousand Filipinos ready for a concerted attack on all the garrisons at Manila? And yet note the statement of the paragraph immediately preceding, which says: "Eight Filipinos have been arrested on the charge of sedition as a result of an abortive rising in Manila and its environs Thursday night." Eight Filipinos arrested! What became of the remaining 9,992 rebels? Does not the arrest of eight men point rather to some infraction of a municipal ordinance - a common occurrence anywhere, especially on Christmas Eve - than to a general rebellion?

Let us examine another paragraph:

At Caloocan a squad of American sailors seized chairs when a force of Filipinos approached a dance hall in which they were



gathered, and using the chairs as weapons routed the Filipinos, of whom quite a number were injured.

Mr. Chairman, how it is possible for any man with common sense to give serious credence to such news of revolt as this is beyond my comprehension. Think of it! Rebel picking out as their point of attack a dance hall and are met and repulsed with chairs by the dancers. The whole thing should be considered a joke, were it not for the serious consequences that stories of this kind might sooner or later bring about, unless the originators be unmasked. Do the writers of these stories realize that what they say is a reflection upon the Government of the United States? What has become of your work in the Philippines, proclaimed as altogether good, if after 15 years of American administration you are likely almost any day to be confronted with a revolt there? (Applause)

The Chairman: The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Moon: Does the gentleman want more time?

Mr. Quezon: Yes; If I could have more I should appreciate it very much.

The Chairman: How much more time does the gentleman yield?

Mr. Moon: I yield the gentleman five minutes.

The Chairman: The gentleman from the Philippine Islands is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. Quezon: What has become of your police organization said to be so magnificent? What has become of the proclaimed beneficence of your Government in the Philippine Islands if it does not at least serve to establish there an orderly government?

Mr. Chairman, the Governor General, after these stories had been published, responded to the cablegram of inquiry from the War Department as follows:

Referring to telegram from your office of the 24th instant, Army headquarters state there is absolutely no truth in the reports about Corregidor, Carabao, and Fraile alleged occurrences.



On Christmas eve there was a small and unsuccessful movement in Manila, connected with the Ricarte campaign. Ricarte has for several years conducted from Hongkong revolutionary propaganda, appealing to the most ignorant classes of Filipinos, and selling thru his agents in the islands commissions in his so-called army for sums from a peseta to 10 pesos. During the past three months five of the Ricarte leaders have been arrested and sentenced to four and six years, including Ricarte's right-hand man. It has been regarded as a grafting scheme under a revolutionary guise, but from time to time arouses excitement among uneducated classes.

Christmas eve about 75 men, extremely ignorant, without firearms, met at the Botanic Garden in Manila and were dispersed by the municipal police without disorder, except that three shots were fired into the air by police and 20 men arrested. Eight of the latter were held upon the charge of carrying concealed weapons! knives and bolos. Nobody was injured, except one man shot by a police man later in the night in another part of the city when he attacked policeman with bolo.

Movements of similar character occurred at Navotas, 10 miles from Manila, where about 40 men assembled and endeavored unsuccessfully to loot municipal safe, taking provincial governor prisoner, who afterwards escaped uninjured. Twenty of this party captured by constabulary or municipal police.

Ten men with two firearms in Laguna de Bay attempted to make trouble last night, with no results. Everything quiet now and vigorous attempt will be made to secure leaders, chief of whom believed to be man under sentence of imprisonment for homicide who has jumped his bail. Nobody of any standing or influence is concerned in this movement.

Mr. Cooper: What is the date of that?

Mr. Quezon: This was sent from Manila on December 27. The Governor General, I say, after reiterating his previous cable advice regarding the lack of foundation for the earlier stories about a scout plot in Corregidor and the alleged arming of civilians on the Carabao and Fraile Islands, goes on to explain what happened in Manila on Christmas eve. He says:

Christmas eve about 75 men, extremely ignorant, without firearms, met at the Botanic Garden in Manila and were dispersed by the



municipal police without disorder, except that three shots were fired in the air by the police, and 20 men were arrested. Eight of the latter held upon charge of carrying concealed weapons: knives and bolos. Nobody was injured except one man shot by a policeman later in the night in another part of the city when he attacked policeman with bolo.

It is thus seen that the "revolt" in Manila, wherein 10,000 Filipinos were to take part, according to newspaper reports, consisted, after all, in a gathering of "75 men without firearms," according to the cablegram of the Governor General. The police fired three shots into the air, and the rebels dispersed without disorder. Eight men were arrested on the charge of carrying concealed weapons.

What kind of a "revolt" is this that can be dispersed by three shots in the air, without disorder, and in which the rebels are without arms? As to the eight men who were charged with carrying concealed weapons, it must be noted that in the Philippines the police could, if they chose, if they chose, put into jail the whole population of the archipelago on the charge of carrying bolos and knives, because practically all of the laboring people carry either knives or bolos as a tool. This fact is well known to everybody familiar with Filipino life, and there is now law in the Philippines prohibiting the use or carrying of knives or bolos. Who, knowing the location and nature of the Manila Botanic Garden, could believe that would-be rebels would pick out as a gathering point this open and central place, where people go for their daily walks or rides? The Botanic Garden is like the parks in the United States - a common place of resort. I have seen thousands of people in that garden without their being interfered with by the police. Why this unusual apprehension at so small a gathering? Why should the police fire shots in the air to disperse the assemblage? Evidently these rumors of uprising have been circulated to the extent of exciting the nerves of the police, and at the sight of 75 men together an officer lost his self-control, that it was time to be ready for the worst, and started firing into the air. How ridiculous! It must be remembered, Mr. Chairman, that this deplorable incident took place on Christmas eve, when, even in the United States, the municipal police is obliged to check disturbances of public order, except that here no one thinks of revolt. But in the Philippines some one had plainly made up his mind to find a revolution and lacking better ground for his stories took hold of these insignificant police affairs to justify his desire to show that there was a



revolution. Now, a word about Ricarte, the alleged head of this conspiracy. Ricarte is in Hongkong now, not in Manila, as stated by these reports. He has been carrying on his propaganda for many years. Governor General Wright, Smith, and Forbes all knew of it. And to show that there is absolutely nothing new in this matter, let me quote a part of a cablegram sent by Go. Gen. Wright to the Secretary of War in 1904. It is as follows:

He is now reported to be in Ilocos Norte, and having followed closely. Am satisfied that he can accomplish little. Times and Cablenews are trying to make a great sensation and have probably sent wild telegrams to the United States, hence detailed. With the exception indicated everything wired as usual.

So the game is not new. Sensational stories of this kind have been reported in the past on the part of some people in the Philippines as handy means to accomplish certain purposes. Never, Mr. Chairman, since American occupation, have the Filipino people been so convinced of the high purposes of this Government toward them as they are now, and therefore never has there been so little discontent as there is now. As I recently said to the representative of a newspaper in this city, who asked me about this revolution, if every American soldier were taken away today from the Philippines, we, the Filipinos, would defend the American flag against possible invaders. (Applause)

The policy of President Wilson, the policy of Gov. Gen. Harrison has made of every Filipino a real friend of the United States. We know that we need not despair; that our national ambitions are on the road to realization, and we are not going to do the very thing that alone would defeat it. We know only too well that a revolt on our part against the United States would mean the ruin of our country, the slaughter of defenseless and innocent men, women, and children. For these reasons, if for no others, I say, these stories of revolution are the most outrageous falsehoods that could be invented. (APPLAUSE)



## GOOD GOVERNMENT FOR THE PHILIPPINES

By Manuel L. Quezon.  
Resident Commissioner from the Philip-  
pines

Editor's Note-Part of a recent address hitherto unpublished by Commissioner Quezon, which has a special application to present conditions.

He who studies the history of the world sees that no government was ever able, permanently, to endure, which denies the fundamental truth, that the Golden Rule governs the life of nations as well as of men, and since it was laid down by Christ, no man, no nation has ever succeeded unless their conduct was in accord with that Rule.

First, it was the imperialism of Rome that fell; then it was the feudalism of mediæval Europe; then it was the paternalism of the Stuarts and Bourbons; then it was the pseudo-imperialism, of Napoleon Bonaparte. Imperialism, the rule of the strong over the weak, - the master over the slave; feudalism, the rule of overlord over vassal; paternalism, the rule of the monarch claiming divine rights over his subjects; aristocracy, the rule of a social caste over the mob, are all forms of government which do not stand the test of time, because they are inimical to the Golden Rule which means equal justice and equal privilege to all mankind, precisely the same theory upon which your political institutions and government are founded.

It has been frequently said that American occupation of the Philippines was a great benefit to my people. I am glad to admit that it has been. I had the honor last year of saying the same on the floor of the House of Representatives, and expressing the gratitude of the Filipinos toward the American people for what good it has been to us. Still, those benefits, great as they may have been can never make the Filipinos forget that they are not governed by themselves but are under foreign rule. We contend, moreover, that an independent Philippine government would have been more beneficial to the Filipinos than any kind of American government.

### THE TRUE TEST OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

That which is good government for one people might not be good for another. That is a good government which best secures the happiness and prosperity of the people which it governs. To accomplish this, a government must know the needs of the country and must not only feel its responsibility to the country but must love it as well. We give the Americans credit for trying to do their best in the Islands to make the Filipinos happy and prosperous, but the wisest American will never know the Filipino as the Filipino knows himself, and the most altruistic American can never love the Philippines as much as the Filipinos



MR. QUEZON'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB OF NEW YORK

(Especial Correspondence)

New York, Dec. 9, 1914.

"It is a truism that every people in whatever part of the world prefers its own government to that imposed by another power, even though its own government may prove the weaker."

With this statement Mr. Quezon, Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands in the U. S. A., addressed himself to a gathering of more than a hundred college students at the Columbia University Cosmopolitan Club last evening. Mr. Quezon appeared as the guest of Philippine students of the Club and upon special invitation from the Club itself. His subject was "Philippine Independence;" his audience a body of college young men and women representing nearly thirty nations of the world.

In a very attractive manner Mr. Quezon proceeded to acquaint his audience with the background of Philippine history. He touched upon the origin of the race, upon their differentiation from other peoples due to the nature of their island habitations and upon the traits of character and life that characterize them today and cause them to feel their nationality.

As resulting from the Spanish conquest he indicated the adoption of the Spanish language and customs and pointed out that the Islands were the only Oriental country in which the Catholic Church had been planted.

Speaking of the period since the Spanish-American war he said, "No statesman, nor even the most ardent and enthusiastic patriot, will deny the splendid work which the United States government has done in the Islands. Now would we under-estimate the high-minded and liberal policy of the present Administration both at Washington and Manila." It is not due to any spirit of enmity between my people and this country that leads them to ask for Independence," he said; "it is merely the reappearance of the desire which is found in the heart of the Filipinos, Americans and every liberty loving people, the desire to conduct their own government in their own way. He remarked that the spirit of '76' was today in the Philippines the 'spirit of 1914'.

"Why is it that the small Nation today is the underdog?" he asked. "The first excuse for the present policy of Imperialism which has caught up the nations of Europe is that the small nation needs the protection of the large and powerful nation." He explained the present conflict as the inevitable result of such policy, for "Nation becoming drunk with power cannot help flying at one another's throat."



love their own country. It is, therefore, manifestly impossible for an American government in the Philippines to be as successful as a Philippine independent government will be. "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent," said Lincoln.

I learn-and this seems to me to be the impression among the American people in general- that the Filipinos are right in desiring to govern themselves and that they should be allowed to do so. The only question seems to be as to whether or not they are yet capable of self-government. To those who think or pretend to believe that the Filipinos are not prepared to assume the responsibilities of an independent nation and that, therefore, they must be kept under the argument is the eternal argument ever used by every people that had another people in subjugation. The English used it in trying to curtail the independence of this country.

#### FILIPINOS ARE READY

But, as a matter of fact, the Filipinos have shows that they are, now and at any time will be, well prepared for the full enjoyment of a national life. The first sign a country gives of its fitness for self-government is its very love for liberty. People are like men, it being the congregation of individuals. In men, with maturity comes the first longing for freedom. The boy while he is a boy is content to remain at home under the care of his parents, but as soon as he becomes a man, to matter how tender his parents are to him, he wants to leave their home and make his own way in the world. With manhood he becomes self-reliant and wishes to be self-supporting. A nation is the same. When it begins to feel the love of liberty and to struggle for it, and incur all sorts of sacrifices to attain it, it is a sure sign that that country has attained its political manhood and that soon it must be made an independent community.

For three hundred years, the Filipinos, in spite, of the Spanish misrule, were resigned if not contented, never trying to become free, there being no Spanish army in the Islands except regiments of native soldiers, while the Spanish government was recognized throughout the Archipelago. The reason why the Filipinos patiently bore the burden of Spanish misgovernment is that they had not yet learned what freedom meant.

As time advanced and education spread through the Islands the Filipinos began to feel the burden of foreign rule and resorted to that time-honored axiom, written in your own Declaration of Independence, which declares that when the connection of the mother country becomes burdensome to the people of the colonies, the people have the right to sever the connection. Then we revolted against Spain, and in the struggle



that followed, you and we were fighting from the same fields and against a common enemy. Later, after we had conquered the Islands from the Spaniards and established a government of our own with a democratic constitution, we engaged in war against this country. We had at the time a full knowledge of the power and strength of our new enemies and were aware of our own weakness. We knew that the war was suicidal on our part. We never dreamed that we could win against the ever-victorious United States army, but we fought, and sacrificed lives and fortunes simply because we had tasted the blessings of liberty and felt that wealth and life were nothing as compared with it.

When we were told that the intention of this country was to emancipate us and not to subjugate us; that the history of the United States was an eloquent testimony of her righteousness and justice; that the granting of our independence which would be given us as soon as we showed our qualifications for self-government, was only a question of time, we yielded and surrendered, awaiting patiently and hopefully the day when this government should fulfill that promise.

#### FILIPINOS A LIBERTY-LOVING NATION

THESE wars speak loudly of the Filipinos as a liberty-loving people. They fought for their freedom and gallantly gave to this sacred cause everything they had. But this is not all. We have shown, in a practical way, and to the extent that we have been permitted to do so, that we are not only a liberty-loving people, but that we know how to govern ourselves to make use of that liberty. We have municipal government composed entirely of Filipinos who are elected by direct vote. Official reports all bear out the statement that these municipalities are successful and work well. Municipal government is the root of all government and the touch-stone of the ability of the people to govern themselves. Even to-day and after a long experience of independent government you have in this country some municipal governments which can not be pointed out as good examples for our municipalities. This is because it is easier to run a national than a municipal government.

The provinces in the Philippines are governed by elected Filipinos. The governors are responsible for the order in their provinces and the Provincial Boards administer their finances. Again, the provincial governments have been publicly praised by American officials. The Philippine Legislature is composed of two branches, the lower house being made up of eighty-one Filipinos elected by the people. When the first Assembly had convened, President Roosevelt stated in a message to Congress that these men instead of filibustering, from the first day they took office, devoted themselves to constructive work.



## NO SELF-GOVERNMENT SAVE THROUGH EXPERIENCE

These are the evidences given by the Filipinos of their ability to govern themselves. They have given no more because the opportunities have not been given them. You never saw a man who could swim unless you put him in the water. Give the Filipinos, to-morrow, the power to elect the upper house of the Philippine Legislature and they will elect the best men and the men best qualified to serve our country, who will do everything at their command to make the Filipinos happy and prosperous.

Give us the right to elect the Governor-General and we will find thousands of men to choose from with executive ability, wisdom and patriotism to administer and execute the laws without preference and with equal regard to all. Give us the right to establish a national, independent government and we will frame a democratic constitution which will best suit the needs and ideas of the Filipinos.

But it is said that should the United States leave the Islands to-morrow, they would immediately become the prey of hungry neighbors, while if there was the prestige of the American flag, it would serve to keep other countries out. Granting that it is true that the American flag is enough to prevent any country from interfering in the affairs of the Philippines, why can not the United States leave the Islands tomorrow and say to the other nations of the world, "Leave the Philippines alone and let them work out their own destiny?" You have done it for Cuba, you have done it for South America, and you have not yet seen any case in which this country has been led to war for this policy.

## NEUTRALIZATION

It is not necessary to discuss this question to its full extent. You all know that the independence of the Philippines can be easily assured by international agreement neutralizing the Islands, as Switzerland is neutralized, or by American protectorate. That we should be free is a self-evident proposition to any American mind. It is rather strange that a Filipinos, who by being such is supposed to have very confused knowledge, if any, of democratic institutions, should address an American audience on the subject of the right of every country to be self-governing. Everyone of you has learned from your mothers when you were boys, in the schools when you were students, and to-day use as the guide of your actions, the principle that the right of every nation to be free and independent is a God-given right. Let me, therefore, leave to your own judgment, developed as it is by free education, and to your own feelings, formed as they are by your born love of liberty, the decision of my cause. You would not help saying that the Filipinos are entitled, as much as the Americans are, to their own independent government, and that they are so entitled, not away in the future, but to-day.



There is one proposition on which everyone of us can and will certainly agree: Whether the Filipinos are to be independent or not, it is but fair to the American people and just to the Filipinis, that both be notified of the fact, whatever that fact may be. The uncertainty as to our future is the daily trouble of the Filipino mind. I appeal to everyone of you, to those who think that the Filipinos ought to be independent to-day or in the near future, and to those who think that they ought not to be independent at all, to exert your influence to bring Congress to say one way or another what is going to be done.

Lc/

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mines of good and silver and rich deposits of lead,  
iron, coal and petroleum. The Pacific Ocean and the  
China Sea, which bathe our shores on the east and on  
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For the tourist who seeks charming views and  
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one who is fortunate enough to see them.

#### ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

And on all sides one sees the stamp of an ancient



THE PHILIPPINES--WHAT THEY ARE AND  
WHAT THEY WOULD BE

By Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the  
Philippines

(Editor's Note: Part of a recant, but hitherto unpublished, address.)

The Philippines are an archipelago lying between latitudes 21° North and 4° North and between meridians 116° and 127° East longitude. On these Islands Nature has bestowed with generous hand and in harmonious combination her riches and her beauties. More than 73,000,000 acres are farm land, where numerous classes of products abound, and of these, only 7,000,000 acres are already private property. Cotton, coca, coffee, sugarcane, tobacco, coconuts, rice, hemp, sisal and other articles are being produced today and can be grown in practically unlimited quantities with but a reasonable amount of effort. Rubber could also readily become one of our principal products. Forests untrod-den by the foot of man are found on every side, the Philippines being the sixth country in the world in wealth of forest products. In no other place are woods of such richness and variety to be had, with their remarkable coloring, size and durability, and it has been declared by experts in these matters that the amount of wood now growing, at the present price, is worth easily six and one-half billions of dollars. In various parts of the archipelago there are valuable mines of good and silver and rich deposits of lead, iron, coal and petroleum. The Pacific Ocean and the China Sea, which bathe our shores on the east and on the west, contain unnumbered species of food fish and in the Sulu Sea are found shells and pearls in large commercial quantities. The Islands are traversed by many mighty rivers which could be converted into motive power sufficient to supply immense industries in every town. Our imports and exports are already attaining important figures.

For the tourist who seeks charming views and beautiful panoramas we have sunsets superior to any other in the world, moonlight scene and stormy nights of which the most ambitious painter could not even dream, much less succeed in reproducing. The road from Camp One to Benguet and from Lucena to Atimoman present an indescribable spectacle in the richness of the surrounding vegetation and in the multiplicity of colors. Cascades, precipices, lakes, valleys, rivers, mountains and volcanos with which Nature has prepared her scenery there demand the admiration of every one who is fortunate enough to see them.

ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

And on all sides one sees the stamp of an ancient



European civilization- churches and cathedrals of beautiful and solid architecture; stone bridges which have stood the ravages of centuries; colleges and universities. Of more recent construction we have roads and tran-ways, railroads, telegraphs, telephone systems, harbors, lighthouses, docks, schools in every village, where over 600,000 Filipino youths get the benefit of free, public education--in a word, all that is necessary for the rapid development of modern commerce, industry, science and intellectual training. An excellent system of sanitation with splendid hospitals and laboratories has been established. Public order throughout the Islands is maintained, and the local governments, administered by Filipinos elected by the people, are a complete and gratifying success.

This country is inhabited by a people of the Malay race, over 8,000,000 in number, and all Christians with the exception of some half million, who are Mohammedans in the Islands of Mindanao, and other non-Christians in one or two of the northern provinces.

What my countrymen of all classes, ages and walks in life most frevently desire is the right to govern themselves and to become, without restriction of any kind, a free and independent nation. Whether this result shall be most expedited by an international agreement providing for the neutralization of the Islands or whether the speedier course would be through the establishment of an American protectorates I do not here pretend to say, but whatever the method selected to bring about this result, the fact remains that the Filipino people look confidently forward to the early realization of their most cherished ideals. Fortunately this most legitimate aspiration is in perfect accord with the democratic interests, with the liberal and humanitarian theories, and with the history of the American people. Since the days when the American fleet first entered the harbor of Manila and American troops first landed on the shores of those Islands the Filipino people have regarded the fulfillment of the pledge then held out to them as a matter of honor on the part of this nation and as the only means for permanently realizing their happiness and material well-being.

#### PROSPERITY HAMPERED

! The Filipino people cannot be content so long as their future is wrapped in impenetrable doubt whether they are to be sold to some other nation, kept in perpetuity as a colonial possession, or disposed of in some other manner than the one to which they aspire. Is it too much to say that the material development and prosperity of the Islands is today seriously handicapped by the uncertainty and doubt regarding the policy of this government toward them?

Everyone saus that all we need rapidly to develop the natural resources of the Philippines is capi-



tal. Capital is always very conservative; it does not go, it will not go where no stable government with a definite policy has been established. On the other hand, the Filipinos themselves are opposed to the investment of large sums of foreign capital in the Islands lest that very procedure should become an excuse for a pretext for postponing or even putting off indefinitely the day of their national independence. Where the Philippines independent tomorrow or were they given a promise of independence at an early date by Congress, the Filipino would welcome it if not try very hard to induce, the coming of capital. It is not, therefore, that the Filipinos are unprogressive or that they desire to continue antiquated methods in culture, but it is because they know so well the history of the world in this respect and knowing it they fear, and rightly fear, the introduction of large amounts of foreign capital into their country until their political future has been clearly and authoritatively defined.

It is true that high officials belonging to the Executive Branch of the government, both here and there, have at times defined their ideas of what they conceive to be the policy of the American people with regard to the Philippines. But the expressions of the Executive Branch of your government, however sincere or well founded, can never be regarded by the Filipino or by the rest of the world with that respect and feeling of security which would result from a definite declaration by Congress upon this subject.

#### CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS

We have all heard the statement frequently made that the Filipino people are not capable of maintaining a free and independent government, were it to be conceded to them in the near future. It is, of course, easy to say a thing of this kind. It has been said about the United States and even after 134 years of tremendous development in national success there are those petrified minds in Europe who still pretend to believe that the American people cannot maintain their republican institutions and remain a great world power. Americans smile at this and well may, because as Americans they know themselves, their weaknesses and their powers better than any outsider could possibly know them. For the same reason I and my countrymen, who know our people, smile also at this statement that we would be unable to maintain and administer a free and independent government in the Philippines. If it be asked what demonstration of this fitness we have given, I answer that we have demonstrated the fact to exactly the extent and in precisely the same measure as the opportunity to do so has been afforded us by the American government. More than that no people can do; but of what we have done in the past ten years, under most peculiarly difficult conditions,



I must leave the world to judge, pointing only to the unbroken testimony of every American Governor General who has served in these Islands from President Taft down, as shown by their statements along this line made in numerous official reports. The Filipino Assembly which was regarded with something akin to horror by the conservative elements in this country, and among the Americans and foreigners in the Philippines, has demonstrated that from the very outset a body of Filipino citizens, elected by the direct vote of the people, is capable of playing a prominent part in the conduct of their affairs with skill, dignity, firmness and, above all, with unswerving loyalty to the ideals of their fellow-citizens.

#### GRATITUDE TO THE UNITED STATES

There is one point concerning the advantage to the United States of granting the independence of my people on which I wish to touch. I have said that my countrymen regard that concession as a matter of honor with the American people. If that pledge shall be fulfilled at an early date, there will be a great practical benefit to this country, for the Filipinos will naturally and properly feel a heavy debt of gratitude for that boon, and with the political and international situation as it is in the Orient today, it might well become a matter of no little moment to America to be at once relieved of the expense of maintaining her sovereignty in the Philippine Islands and at the same time be assured of the loyal support and assistance of the entire Filipino people in the case of those eventualities which ought not to, but which sometimes do, occur,

Is it too much, then, to hope that today, though a century and a third have rolled by, American ears and hearts are still open to the cry of a weaker and distant people, whose foremost desire is to breathe that same air of freedom in which the United States and its people have grown so great and so strong?



ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. MANUEL  
L. QUEZON AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN  
HIS HONOR AT THE HOTEL DE FRANCE,  
SEPTEMBER 28, 1918 FOR THE CELEBR-  
ATION OF THE ENACTMENT OF THE  
JONES LAW.

MR. TOASTMASTER, GENTLEMEN:

You have struck one of the most sensitive chords of my heart. I am too profoundly touched to express in the manner in which I would like to do so the sentiments of satisfaction and gratitude which your generous demonstrations of esteem and affection have awakened in my innermost soul. Even were I a marble statue I could not have very long remained insensible to the honor and attention shown me since I arrived. Permit me to render you my sincerest thanks and to assure you that the remembrance of this day will accompany me into the grave.

It is my desire, on an occasion so memorable to me as the present one, to do some thing more than to assure you of my gratitude, laud the excellencies of our new Organic Law, or sign the praises of our civic virtues. I should not properly respond to the confidence you repose in me, were I, from fear that it might cool your enthusiasm, to avoid all reference to the great and complicated problems which, in my judgment, we shall have to solve in order to make sure that the bases of our national edifice will be firm and lasting.

I will therefore open my heart to you and communicate to you my sincere, deliberate judgment with regard to the seriousness of the situation that confronts us. For this reason I now break with an inveterate custom - that of not preparing my speeches in writing. My words will not be elegant; but they have been carefully thought over, and whatever your judgment of them may be, I pray you to grant them the merit of having been inspired by my sense of gratitude, my devotion to these people who have so greatly honored me and shown me such affection since my arrival.

Ah! gentlemen? I should be the most abominable of mortals if after all that the Filipino people have done for me I should allow my thoughts, my words, and my acts to be impelled by motives unpatriotic.

It is, in truth, most and appropriate that the Filipino people should celebrate the enactment of the Jones Bill with great rejoicing. There are more than sufficient reasons for our giving ourselves over to joy unconfined. The festivities held in connection with this new Organic Law of our country and the resolutions that have been adopted, expressing the gratitude of the people to the American nation and to entities and individuals that have contributed to its enactment, speak highly in favor, not only of the intelligence of the Filipino people, who fully appreciate the great importance of this new Magna Charta of our



political liberties, but also of its sense of justice and gratitude, which have always constituted one of our most characteristic national qualities.

The Jones Bill doubtless has its defects; no human labor is perfect. It is true, also, that it falls far short of satisfying our aspirations. No legislation has ever been written exactly in accord with the opinion and the desires of even those who have fostered or requested it, because the laws, especially in countries with a democratic government, are the result of a series of compromises and mutual concessions among many deverse and sometimes contrary and opposed opinions. Despite all this, the Jones Bill has substantial merits. I will say more: it is of international transcendancy. It marks out a new course for the colored peoples subject to foreign dominion. That, in spite of this, the Bill has its detractors among us is simply natural. There are no people on earth in which all the people think alike on matters of public interest. The contrary would reveal an abnormal sociological and psychological condition.

The critics of the Jones Bill may, I believe, be divided into two groups: (1) those who fear that it grants political powers and liberties greater than those which the Filipino people are competent to exercise, and (2) those who say that it is a step backward instead of forward; that it represents retrogression instead of real progress. To the former we can easily give this answer: Keep your worries until the evil you conjecture comes, because, as it is sure not to come, you will thus save yourself a lot of unnecessary worry and anxiety. Fortunately the Jones Bill has removed the discussion of the capacity of the Filipino from the field of theory to that of practice. Its enactment has converted the mere conjectures as to what the Filipino people may do to the material demonstration of what the Filipino people will do. To the non-believers we therefore say; Wait, and you shall see.

As to those who believe the Jones Bill is a step backward, it will suffice for us to outline to them, at least in a general way, the principal differences between this law and the Organic Law which it has supplanted, and the advantages which the situation created by the new law brings with it for the Filipino people, as against our situation under the old law.

The principal defect of the past situation, a defect which not only seriously affected our moral tranquility, but also retarded our moral progress, was the absence of an authorized declaration of the primordial object which the American people had in view upon assuming the sovereignty of these Islands. Had we been an ignorant people, without, national consciousness or dignity, it would, from our point of view, or rather, in view of our lack of any point of view,



have mattered very little to us whether or not the reason for the new government imposed upon us was explained to us. If we had been allowed to live without being subject to physical maltreatment or deprived of the fruits of our labor, we would have lived, if not contentedly, yet at least indifferent to the nature and purposes of the rule established over us. The American Government, however, found in the Philippine Islands a people that were already formed, a people conscious of national solidarity, with national aspirations, and with sufficient dignity and valor to have rebelled against a sovereignty that had been established here for many centuries and to resist a new sovereignty that came to replace the old. We were perhaps, not quite so advanced as older, more experienced peoples, but we were the heirs of an oriental civilization that had existed for centuries when Spain came here, and of an occidental civilization acquired and assimilated during more than three centuries of Spanish rule. We had a clear conception of the rights belonging to us as a people by the laws of these rights. Being a young people, we looked into the future with dreams of glory; we deemed ourselves capable and felt in us the determination to our descendants might live contented, prosperous, and free. Under such conditions we could not possibly be expected to feel satisfied under a government of whose intentions in assuming control over us we had not been informed in authoritative manner. It does not matter that the conduct of this government, from the first day when it assumed the sovereignty of the Archipelago, was one, to us at least, unprecedented in the history of the relations between a victorious and a vanquished people, both of different race. The opening of public schools in which the children of the lowliest Filipino could acquire knowledge, the new facilities given to commerce, the aid extended to industry and agriculture, the elevation of Filipinos to offices of responsibility and power, the creation of the Philippine Assembly by which our people were for the first time given a participation in the national legislation - all this we appreciated and for all this we were grateful to the American Government; yet, I repeat, all this was not sufficient to set at rest our minds which inquired constantly, what will be our future?

It is true that the highest ranking officials in these Islands, the various Secretaries of War, and even several Presidents of the United States said that the American people had come to the Philippine Islands to emancipate, not to subjugate us; to give us new opportunities which, owing to circumstances beyond our control, we had not had in the past. These declarations, however, were made in vague terms and represented after all but the personal opinion of the men who made them, or during a period of serious disturbance of the public order.



thought these men were indeed persons of high official rank and powerful influence. Not even our knowledge of American history and institutions, which shows us that the people of the United States have always been the foremost champions and upholders of human liberty, could put an end to our anxiety. We were full of apprehension: we did not look trustfully towards the future; we could not understand why Congress, the only entity empowered by the Constitution to decide the political status of the Filipino people, remained silent on a question for us of such vital importance, though it had been stipulated in the Treaty of Paris that the Government of the United States would define that status. Did America wish to be left at liberty to turn our country over to some other country or keep it, as she saw fit, disposing of us in the manner most convenient to her interest, without compromising her national honor? On the other hand, the Americans and foreigners who had interest here or intended to invest capital in this country, did not dare to undertake anything of importance, as they feared America might abandon the Islands at a moment's notice without even giving us time to establish a government of our own and provide for its maintenance. We were thus unable to obtain outside capital, the aid of which is essentially necessary for the development of the riches of our soil. Most of us Filipinos worried but little about the possibility of a sudden departure of America, because we had full confidence that at any moment when the United States should withdraw from the country, the Filipino people would immediately proceed, with prudence and patriotism, to organize and establish a government of their own. It can not be denied, however, that even among ourselves there were persons who dreaded that possibility, considering it dangerous, at the least.

The Jones Bill has changed this situation radically. The preamble to this Act tells us that it is the purpose of the American people to grant the Philippine Islands independence as soon as a stable government can be established here.

What does this declaration signify? It signifies that America explicitly and solemnly recognizes that we are a people entitled, like any other, to our liberty and national independence. It signifies, further, that America has determined to allow us to exercise this right as soon as the elements required for a stable government are at hand. It also signifies that America has waived her right, sanctioned by international practice, though contrary to all principles of ethics, to alienate these Islands by sale or transfer to some other foreign nation. This removes any possibility of America's abandoning the Philippines before a duly constituted Filipino Government has been inaugurated, while a war is pending or imminent in which we may or might become involved, or during a period of serious disturbance of the public order.



It is alleged, however, that any subsequent Congress has power to revoke the promise of independence contained in the Jones Bill. This is true, but such revocation would be derogatory to the national honor of America and there is no people that holds its national honor in highest esteem than the Americans. We may therefore rest easy, because no Congress will dare or desire to cast such a blot on the honor of America. It is only possible that the policy enounced in the Jones Bill may take another course if the Filipino people themselves request it. If, for instance, the Filipino people should express to the American people its desires to remain perpetually under American sovereignty then the United States Congress could decree our annexation without committing a breach of trust. So long, however, as we persist in our purpose to be completely independent some time, as sure as there is a sun in the firmament will America redeem her promise. Our mistrust of the past should therefore make way to confidence and our incertitude and anxiety to certitude and peace of mind. To tell you the truth, if the Jones Bill had done nothing but define the American policy in the Philippine Islands, that mere definition would already have bettered the condition of the Filipinos people, for several reasons. As you know, however, the Jones Bill has done more. It has granted to the Philippine Government greater powers than those which it had under the Act of July 1st, 1902, and has placed that Government almost entirely in the hands of the people.

Matters on which the Government of the Philippine Islands could not legislate, even in the days when the Commission was our only legislative body and its members were all american, have now been placed in the hands of the Legislature, both of the houses of which are elective. And the jurisdiction of this Legislature extends to every foot of the territory of the Philippine Islands, while formerly the popular authority, as represented by the Assembly, did not extend to the territory inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos. So great is this popular authority that its sphere of influence extends even to certain acts of the Chief Executive - the local representative of the sovereign nation - such as the power of the Senate to approve or reject appointments made and the power by the Legislature to regulate the conditions subject to which the secretaries or heads of departments shall be appointed by said Governor-General. The Jones Bill, as its author has said very correctly, confers the substance, although not the title, of self-government.

Those who assert that the Jones Bill is a step backward point to the veto power vested in the Governor-General, to that vested in the President, and to the power reserved to Congress to repeal, at any time, any act passed by our Legislature. This criticism has more apparent than real force. The veto power of the President and the power of Congress to repeal our acts existed already under our former status. The veto power of the



Governor-General is new, but it is a power less absolute than that of the Commission with respect to the legislative acts of the Assembly, inasmuch as from the veto of the Commission there was no appeal to the President. Moreover, the Commission, being the other branch of the Legislature, could with greater liberty act contrary to the popular will by refusing to pass bills passed by the Assembly than the Governor-General will consider himself authorized to do by vetoing acts of the new Legislature.

It is proper to suppose that in the exercise of the powers conferred by the Jones Bill, the Governor-General will act in accordance with the spirit, and not with the letter alone, of the Act. Now, it being the evident purpose of that Act to give us ample opportunity to solve our domestic problems according to our own ideas, the Governor-General will have to respect them unless, in his judgment, they involve a serious infringement upon the sovereignty legitimately represented by him in these Islands.

No colored people under foreign sovereignty has ever had the political power henceforth to be enjoyed by the Filipino people. What is still more, there are countries in the Far East which, though nominally independent, are more subject to interference by foreign government than the Philippine Islands are subject to interference in their domestic affairs on the part of the Government of the United States. The initiative and the determination of the reforms which are to give an impetus to the progress of our people in the various aspects of our own existence has been placed in our hands. This is to say, of course, that, in granting us such ample powers, the Jones Bill places upon our shoulders the burden of the most serious responsibilities; and these responsibilities we must face, as I know the people will face them, conscientiously, with decision, valor, and complete devotion to the interests of the community. We must take into account that our future and, perhaps, that of other peoples less fortunate than ours and grievously subjugated, depends upon our acts, our prudence, our pure patriotism. Because, gentlemen, we must not forget that if the policy of the United States with respect to the Philippine Islands turns out to be a complete success, sooner or later other governments possessing colonies will find themselves constrained to adopt the same policy. These are therefore days not of rejoicing alone, but also of meditation. We must critically examine the needs of the country and the defects of our social and political organization, in order to be able to satisfy the former and remedy the latter.

The primordial purpose of all government is that of procuring the greatest good for the greatest number of its citizens. Our first efforts should tend towards the improvement of the condition of the masses.



We now enter fully upon the grand labor of laying the foundations upon which the edifice of Filipino nationality is to stand until time shall be no more.

One of the greatest dangers that menace new peoples with great ambitions, who feel they have the strength to work out a great future themselves, is that they are liable to be so well satisfied with themselves and their own that they forget or disdain the experience or resent the aid of other peoples with greater experience in the art of governing. The most advanced people on earth has not yet attained its complete and perfect development. Every nation has something to learn from the others, and any country which, systematically or from an excess of national pride, refuses to profit by the lessons and the experience of other countries and even other men, not only hurts itself, but even exposes itself to public ridicule. When I say other men, I say so advisedly. Especially during the first years of our life the aid of men from more advanced countries who have excelled in certain lines of government work and whose services may be required for the construction of our national edifice, will be cordially solicited and received. To copy, without due examination and without taking into account whether or not it is adaptable to our way of being, that which is foreign, merely because it is foreign, is as harmful as rejecting it in the same manner and for the same reason. The example of Japan, repeatedly cited, may very opportunely be cited against our neighboring nation owes its present enviable situation to the wisdom their own and assimilated the best they found in the foreign countries.

We should be unworthy of the liberties and rights granted us by the Jones Bill, were we to make use of them for the promotion of selfish interests. The desire to hold public office is a laudable one when it is prompted by the desire to serve the public interests. The candidate or political party, however, that is prompted by selfish motives alone is guilty of defrauding the nation. The people must in each case weigh in the balance the purity of the intentions of those who solicit their votes. Political parties are real necessity in all democratic government; but they are guilty of a crime if, in competing with each other for the confidence of the public, they conduct their campaign in a manner to cause deep dissensions in the country. The right of criticism is one of the safeguards of good government. However, when this right is made use of to denounce systematically as bad everything pertaining to the adversary, charging him in every instance with dishonesty or bad faith, whether with or without reason, it becomes as arm most destructive of the common welfare. Now more than ever before we Filipinos must be moved by one impulse; that of procuring the happiness, prosperity, and true liberty of our country. Those in power as well as those of the opposition must, each in the performance of the mission conferred upon him by his position, endeavor to render beneficent service.



We have much to do. There is work for all. It is our good fortune that Divine Providence has given us a country both beautiful and fertile. The wealth of our soil may be said to be still intact. We must, with all the energy that is in us, embark upon the development of our natural resources. Do not let us forget that we live in a very critical epoch. After the horrible war which is now desolating Europe, international economic competition will be more intense than ever. So who have taken part in this horrible conflict will struggle more vigorously than ever in order to regain what they have lost. If we go to sleep or remain our ambition to see our country prosperous. Now is the time, therefore, to devote more than ever our attention and our efforts to the promotion of our commerce, our agriculture, our industry. It will be needless for me to say that neither political rights nor laws, however wise these may be, are sufficient to bring progress and general well-being. We would suffer the worst disappointment were we to cherish the illusion that the establishment of this new government in the Philippine Islands and the fact that the government will be popular one will automatically remedy the ills from which our country is now suffering. The government alone is powerless to give prosperity to the people. All it can ordinarily do is to give the citizens an opportunity to utilize to their fullest extent their individual power of work in order to obtain the largest sum of benefit. In the last instance any progress we may make at any time must come from the people themselves.

We have entered upon the most critical period in the history of our people. All we may do and say will be judged by friends and enemies. The former will look for the satisfaction of the confidence which they have placed in us and the latter for a justification for their mistrust. We must therefore be very careful in every step we take. It will be better to do but little, without reflection.

Peoples have more relations with each other now than ever before. No nation is sufficient unto itself; it needs the friendship of the other countries and cordial relations with the same. Even the most powerful nations of the world are anxious to gain the good will of the others and we are especially constrained to follow this policy because we are a small people. Fortunately for us, the Filipino people are a people without race prejudice and receive every stranger with affection. It is our duty to perpetuate this beautiful as well as beneficent quality.

Nothing would more certainly result in the complete failure of our labors than an offensive attitude on our part towards other peoples. We must endeavor especially to gain more and more the good will of the American people. This a people that have given us repeated proofs that it is cordially interested in our future, and it is simple justice that we should give it proofs of our gratitude.



I assure you that after a sojourn of seven years in the United States, I am firmly convinced that we could not find a better friend than the American people. On every question concerning the Philippines that has come up to Congress, the representatives and senators, those who voted in accordance with our opinion as well as those who voted the other way, have voted in the belief that they were acting in our best interest. We must pray you, upon receiving this evidence of your affection and esteem, to direct your thoughts across the seas and give a vote of thanks to the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States.

This is especially our duty with regard to Mr. Jones, the author of the bill. Though aged and almost an invalid, I have seen him work without repose in order that the Filipino people might obtain these new concessions. Without any hope, recompense except the satisfaction of duty well done, he has jeopardized his life, neglecting his broken health, in order that the American people might do us justice. Praise to Mr. Jones! Whatever we have done and may do for him will be but a scant reward.

There is another person who has perhaps not been given all the credit due him for the aid which he has given to those who labored in Washington to get us our new Organic Law. That person is the Governor-General. Permit me, Mr. Governor, to tell you in the presence of this distinguished gathering that I believe that without you we would not have had a Jones Bill. The confidence which since the first day of your arrival on these shores you have reposed in the intelligence and patriotism of the Filipino people, the manner in which you have administered the affairs of this country, the recommendations which you have made to be President and to our friends in Congress, have contributed more than anything to bring about that the Filipino people are now in the enjoyment of the ample rights granted by the Jones Bill. In the name of my people and on my own behalf, I thank you most warmly. Your memory will be forever inscribed, not only in the annals of my country, but also in the heart of every Filipino citizens.

The country is very fortunate to have had you at the head of this government not only during the time when the struggle was at its height, but also now that victory has come to us. Much will depend upon the policy of the Governor-General who will inaugurate the new government, in order that the Filipino people may enter upon the full enjoyment of the liberal provisions of the Jones Bill. The course outlined by you will serve for the guidance of your successors, whether they belong to your own party or to the Republican party. We are well aware that you will endeavor to give the proposes to grant them. Gentlemen, I shall conclude. The moderation, prudence, patriotism, and devotion to duty of our municipal, provincial, and Insular officials, and especially of our Assembly, have won for us the victory that we now celebrate. These same virtues will bring us in the future prosperity, well-being, and independence.



SPEECHES OF MR. QUEZON  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF AMERICA

January 13, 1916.

Mr. Quezon:

"Mr. Chairman, on January 7 there was inserted in the Senate proceedings in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article alleged to have been written by a Member of this House, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Austin). On the following day the distinguished Senator who had had this article inserted requested - and the request was granted by the Senate - that the paragraph of this article which refers to me be stricken from the permanent RECORD. To this paragraph, I wish to call the attention of the House. The paragraph says:

"The Governor General, the other part of the lawmaking and appointing machine has publicly proclaimed his indebtedness to MANUEL QUEZON for his appointment, and QUEZON is the leader of the movement to throw off so-called American 'oppression and tyranny,' and is the accredited custodian of the Philippine campaign fund, said to reach many thousands of dollars, collected in the islands for some time from the servants, clerks, officeholders, merchants, and others to 'influence Congress' to pass the Jones or any other old bill providing for independence." Money cannot put legislation thru Congress, and any statement that it is used to control Senators or Members is a slander to our national lawmakers and an imposition upon the innocent and confiding ones who give up their hard-earned money for said purpose. The Congress would render a public service, vindicate its Members, and protect hundreds of poor, needy and innocent people by putting an end to the collection of this fund to "influence Congress". An investigation should be made to ascertain all the facts, who originated the scheme, the names and occupations of all subscribers, whether voluntary or forced contributions, the amounts, method of collection, how the funds are distributed, and names of persons to whom paid, etc.

Mr. Chairman, I confess that what I have read sounds rather ugly to me; but, being conscious of my limited knowledge of the intricacies of the English language, I am withholding judgment until I am positive that I know the impression that was intended to be conveyed to



the reader by the author of these statements. Is it alleged or suggested that I or any other person authorized by me or any other person, with my knowledge, was engaged in collecting money in the Philippine Islands avowedly for the purpose of using this money to control Senators and Representatives? Is it alleged or suggested that any person in the Philippine Islands, under my authority or with my knowledge, has been collecting funds, informing the people from whom this money was collected that such funds for the purpose of controlling Senators and Representatives, and that I, knowing that this money has been so collected, have taken that money, kept it in my possession, used it for that purpose, or for my own personal ends, or have not used it at all?

Mr. Chairman, I have been holding the position of Resident Commissioner for the last five years, and I can say before God and man that my hand and my conscience are not only clean of any stain of improper conduct in the performance of my duties, but promote the interest that I was called upon to defend as I saw the path indicated by my duty. (Applause) I want to know if now or ever I have done anything with Members indicate that I was attempting unduly to influence their minds in favor of the cause that I am representing here? If it is an improper action to argue with Members of Congress my views on the Philippine question, if it is illegitimate for me to act toward Members of Congress as one gentleman should act toward another, then I confess most willing that I am guilty of improper action. If it is a crime to come here and advocate independence or any other policy that in my opinion should be advocated in the interest of my people, if it is a crime to propagate my views, if it is a crime to appeal to the hearts and minds of Members, then I am guilty. But, Mr. Chairman, if there is any suggestion that I have endeavored to promote the cause that I represent by attempting improperly to influence Members of Congress by the use of money or in any other way, if there be such suggestions, I want to say that it is a slander upon me without the slightest foundation in fact. (APPLAUSE)

There is a committee in the Philippine Islands composed of men prominent in their professions, in business, and in the government service which for some time has been collecting money, and the treasurer of this committee is Mr. Thomas Earnshaw, a brother of my colleague, the other Resident Commissioner from



the Philippine Islands, who is a wealthy and an honest man. Actually the amount of money collected monthly amounts to about the large sum of \$500. This money was collected for the purpose of sending out literature to propagate the views of those who believed in Philippine independence. Is it improper to use money for the purpose of informing the American people as to conditions really existing in the Philippine Islands? The only thing wrong about it, I think, Mr. Chairman, is that the sum is so ridiculously small in amount that very little can be done with it. I wish that instead of \$500 a month we had thousands of dollars a month. We then could and would be sending books to every household in this country, written by eminent and distinguished Filipinos, especially the books of Dr. Rizal, so that the American people might know that there are intelligent and able men in the Philippine Islands. We could and would have been sending photographs to every corner of this country, not of naked Igorots, which have been freely distributed in the past, leading the American people to believe that we are all naked, uncivilized men in the Philippine Islands, but photographs of our wonderful and old churches, that speak of our Christian civilization lasting 300 years; of our schools and colleges, both during the Spanish and the American regime, that would speak of our education; of our houses, that would speak of our social life. We should be using that money not to control Members of Congress but to inform the American people as to our state of civilization and as to our desires, so that the American public, which in the last resort has the final voice on the Philippine question, may intelligently pass upon that subject. Is there anything wrong about that?

Mr. Chairman, I wish it could be ascertained now much money has been expended to propagate views contrary to Philippine Independence, how much money has been expended to issue literature describing conditions to the Philippine Islands that contain statements reflecting upon the Filipino people. And yet I do not criticize that campaign. Any man has a right to present his views before the American people.

A book written two years ago by Dean C. Worcester, who was secretary of the interior in the Philippine Islands, quite an expensive book, which has been distributed freely thruout this country, and Members of this House have received it, not knowing where it came from. This book is opposed to independence and some one paid the price for its free distribution. Is there anything wrong about that?

Mr. Chairman, not a cent of that so-called Philippine campaign fund is spent without the knowledge of my colleague (Mr. Earnshaw) who is sitting



here, and myself, and Mr. Earnshaw knows as well as I do that not a cent of that money has been ever used or attempted to be used to control Members of Congress of either House. (Applause) Surely it has not been used to enrich myself.

The Chairman:

The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Ferris:

How much more time does the gentleman wish?

Mr. Quezon- Can I have 10 minutes more?  
There are more things I would like to call to the attention of the House.

Mr. Ferris:- See if you can not conclude in five minutes. I yield to the gentleman five minutes more, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman.- The gentleman is recognized to five minutes more.

Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin.- Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. Quezon- I will.

Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin.- I rise to ask the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. Ferris) in view of the vast importance of this subject to the gentleman whose integrity has been impeached, or at least attacked in the public prints repeatedly during this last summer, and in view of the importance of the subject to his countrymen, 8,000 miles away, if he can not yield 10 minutes additional at this time?

Mr. Ferris.- Mr. Chairman, I will take five minutes away from the committee, and I will yield to the gentleman 10 minutes.

The Chairman.- The gentleman from the Philippines is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. Quezon:

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been in public life almost ever since I left college. I come from a very modest family in a very small town in the Philippines. There is not a human being in the town where I was born who does not know me and my people. I was elected as governor of my Province in 1905. It has been repeatedly stated, and it is suggested in another part of the article that I am commenting upon, that I am a politician; meaning, I suppose, that I am very much interested in a political machine which has been promoting my political career and whose interest I have been promoting. I can say right here and now, in answer to all those attacks, that I have never been elected to any public office by any political machine. I was elected governor of the Province of Tayabas as an independent candidate, and I was opposed by the two political parties in that Province, each of which had a candidate of its own.



After I was elected governor I entered the Nationalist Party. Why? It was my duty to promote the interest of my Province and I wanted to be associated with those people who thought as I did, whose counsels I desired, and in whose integrity and honesty I had confidence. After having served some time as governor I resigned this position to become a candidate for the assembly. Upon presenting my candidacy for the assembly I withdrew from the party once more, not wishing to be elected thru the use of any political machinery. I presented my candidacy as an independent. And, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that while I had a hard fight to become governor, because I was not well known in my Province, I did not have to fight at all to be elected to the assembly. Having been governor of Tayabas for a year and a half and the people having had an opportunity to learn all about me and my public work, I was unanimously elected, by every voter in my district. (Applause) I say unanimously because my opponent received only the votes of his immediate relatives, 20 or 30 persons.

Once in the assembly, I again joined the Nationalist Party - the party whose principles I believed in. I did it not because I wanted to advance my political career, but because I could not play a solo by myself. (Laughter) If I was to write or help write legislation, I had to cooperate with and have the cooperation of those who thought as I did. After serving some time in the assembly I was elected floor leader and two years later to the position I now hold. I have been twice unanimously reelected by both houses of our legislature. It is true that I am now and have been for some time one of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, but I have had very little to do with the purely local political campaigns of the party. Here is what the article I refer to says of me on this subject:

"Quezon is one of the Commissioners from the islands to the American Congress, is very much in politics, and naturally anxious to place as many of his partisans on the Government pay roll as possible."

It is suggested that I have been asking Governor General Harrison to appoint my political followers in the Philippine Islands, Had I done this, there would have been nothing wrong about it, but the truth is that I do not owe the governor a single appointment. It has been stated that Governor-General Harrison publicly acknowledged his indebtedness to me for his appointment as Governor General. Nothing, Mr. Chairman, could please me more than to be able to tell my people that I am of such



importance in this country that I can secure the appointment of a Governor General on my mere dictum. (Applause) Unfortunately, I can not say that, because it is not true. To my knowledge Governor General Harrison has never made such a statement. I know he has not said it in my presence. True, he has stated that he was gratified to learn that I was in favor of his appointment. But, Mr. Chairman, if it is true that the opinion of the Resident Commissioner from the Philippine Islands is consulted by the President of the United States or by any other officer of this Government on any question of importance affecting the islands, nothing could be more proper than that they should do so. What are we supposed to be here for? Why do we represent the Philippines in the United States? (Applause)

Are we supposed to come here and draw \$7,500 a year, plus \$2,000 for mileage, simply to sit around, and look pretty? (Laughter) The position of Resident Commissioner was created by an act of the Congress of the United States for the purpose of giving the Filipino people an opportunity to be represented before the department of this Government, executive as well as legislative. If you read the language of the law you will see this is a fact. Is it a crime that our advice is sought? Is it a crime for use to volunteer our opinion on matters affecting the islands? Mr. Chairman, I will say right now that if I am supposed to be in the United States only to draw salary, and can not express what I believe to be the rights of my people; if I can not object to or indorse an appointment for the government of the Philippine Islands, then I want to resign my post, for I should be ashamed to receive my salary; I should want to go home, because I do not see what good I could do here. (Applause)

The Chairman.- The time of the gentleman from the Philippines has again expired.

Mr. Ferris.- Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman two minutes.

The Chairman.- The gentleman is recognized for two minutes more.

Mr. Quezon.-

Mr. Chairman, before I proceed any further I want to say this: If it is suggested that I have done something wrong, or authorized anyone to do something wrong, in connection with my work in this country, I shall welcome an investigation. But I do not want to see it used to dealy Philippine legislation, or to divert the minds of the American people from the real issue that is before them.

There is another statement in this article about which I want to say a few words, and I am going to read it as fast as I can. The gentleman from Tennessee says of me:



"Having served in the revolutionary army against the United States, we can imagine he is not shedding tears when the political guillotine decapitates former American soldiers in the interest of his political supporters - " And so on.

Mr. Chairman, there is a suggestion here that I want to refute. It is hinted at, that because I have served in the Philippine Army, I am holding rancor in my heart toward American veterans. My best American friends in the Philippine Islands are men against whom I fought during the war. (Applause) I have the greatest admiration for Americans who, in answer to the call of their country, have gone to the Philippine Islands and fought us, just as I believe - at least, I hope - that those Americans admire the Filipinos who had the courage to fight them. (Applause) There is no rancor in my heart. These men were doing their duty as I knew I was doing my duty. They tried to kill me during the war, and I tried to kill them. (Laughter) But men who have enough red blood in their veins to come out and fight for their country have big enough hearts to respect those against whom they are fighting. (APPLAUSE)

I want to say this again: My best American friends in the islands are Judge Ross, who was a captain of Volunteers and Democrat, and Maj. Hartigan, a Republican. I could recite a long list of others, but that would take up too much of the time of the House.

Mr. Chairman, my advocacy of independence is not inspired by rancor or ill will toward Americans, but by love of freedom. The day will yet come when it will be seen that I have been a good friend of the Americans in the Philippine Islands, that I have looked after their interests there as I am looking after the interests of my country here. The day will yet come when it will be demonstrated that in advocating the independence of my country I have been moved by high motives, just as I give credit for good motives to those who are taking an attitude opposed to mine.

Good name in man and women, dear, my lord,  
Is the immediate jewels of their souls  
Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis  
something, nothing;  
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been  
slave to thousands;  
But he that flichs from me my good name  
Robs me of that which not enriches him  
And makes me poor indeed.

(Prolonged applause)



DELIVERED BEFORE THE AMERICAN  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE  
August 18, 1916.

Mr. Quezon: Mr. Speaker, the bill which is now before you is practically the same as that which passed the House of Representatives on May 1st last, commonly known as the Jones bill. Therefore I feel justified in predicting that the conference report will be adopted. The long continuous, hard, and sometimes very better contest to enact this legislation shall thus have come to a successful end, and very friend of human liberty will have reason to rejoice. (Applause)

This bill differs from the bill which passed the Senate of the United States on February 4, 1916, in two respects. On the subject of independence the Senate bill was more definite than this bill: since the Senate bill provided not only that the Philippines set the period within which that independence was to be granted: that is, from two to four years. The bill as agreed upon the report to the House by the conferees does not undertake to determine either the date or the period when independence shall be granted, but it does declare it to be the purpose of the people of the United States to grant the Philippines their independence "as soon as a stable government can be established" in the islands.

With regard to the provisions affecting the powers of the Philippine government and its control by the Filipino people, this bill is more liberal and more logical than the Senate bill. I stood by and fought for the independence clause of the Senate bill, namely, the Clarke amendment, as it is well known to you, but I am fair enough to see and frank enough to say that, even in its present form, this bill is a remarkable progress in the right direction.

For more than three centuries the people of the Philippines were under the rule of Spain. During the long period of time they were held by the Spanish Government avowedly as subjects and were given no part in the government of their country. The laws of the realm defined as treason, punishable even by death, any attempt to free the islands though it be by peaceful means. Eighteen years ago the sovereignty of Spain was succeeded by that of the United States. During this whole time, excepting only the last three years, the Philippine government was practically, almost exclusively, in the hands of American officials appointed by the President, the policy of the United States was undefined. No one knew whether we shall be permanently held as possessions, sold to some other power, or eventually granted independence.

Thank God, those conditions which were becoming every day more and more intolerable will soon disappear, never to return. (Applause)



Now, we have a legislative declaration that it is the purpose of the people of the United States to grant the Philippines independence as soon as a stable government can be established in the islands. To us these are no empty words - they are the solemn pledge of a great people. (Applause) And for the speedy accomplishment of said purpose the Filipino people are intrusted with greater legislative power and more administrative control over their domestic affairs. We may now look to a future replete with hope. The dark clouds of uncertainty have been dispelled from our horizon. Heretofore we have been the least and the last factor in Philippine affairs. Hereafter we shall be the first and most important factor. Heretofore things were done by the Philippine government not only without the consent but on many occasions against the strong opposition of the Filipino people. Hereafter nothing will be done without our consent, much less in defiance of our opposition. So I say, Mr. Speaker, this bill is a long and very decisive step toward the complete emancipation of the Filipino people. It marks an epoch in our national history. (Applause) We are convinced that the promise of independence contained in the bill will be faithfully fulfilled, for we know that we are dealing with a Nation to the truest sense jealous of its honor and its good name. (Applause) We are positive that when we have fully demonstrated that we can establish and maintain a government that will protect from lawlessness and from violence its own citizens as well as those of other countries who live or sojourn in the islands, the American people will consent to the setting up of a Philippine republic which will be a glory to the United States and a blessing to us. (Applause)

Yes, the enactment of such a great piece of constructive legislation as this is to the everlasting credit of this Congress and this administration. You have done a noble work and you have every reason to feel satisfied with and proud of it. You can be sure that when a future Congress cuts forever the tie that as yet binds my country to yours, the Filipinos people will not forget that it is because of this legislation that there will then have been brought about such a happy and righteous consummation of your Philippine enterprise. (Applause)

Mr. Speaker, I know I am voicing the unanimous sentiment of my people when from the bottom of my heart I say to you here to-day we are grateful - profoundly grateful - to the American people, to the Congress of the United States and to President Wilson for this measure.



Mr. Speaker, may I not be premitted, on this occasion, to transgress the rules of the House so that I may address personally the gentleman from Virginia and say to him: Mr. Jones, I have witnessed your untiring work on this bill; I have seen your unselfish devotion to the cause of Philippine independence, honestly believing that it was demanded not only by God's own law, but also by the best interests of both your country and mine. As the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, which is in charge of legislation affecting the Philippines, you have considered it to be your paramount duty to write into law the covenant of your fathers, and the spirit of America - freedom for all. By this bill, which is the result of your hard labor - labor you have carried out at the risk of your own life, for you have been working in spite of ill-health - you are entitled, in my estimation, to a prominent place in the list of the advocates of human liberty. Surely your name will be written in letters of gold in the history of the Philippine Islands. You have earned not only the eternal gratitude but the love of every individual Filipino. God bless you! (Loud applause)

Now, Mr. Speaker, just one word more of a personal character. Seven years ago next December I first entered the Hall of the House of Representatives as the spokesman of the Filipino people. I came with a mandate to work for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands. Ever since that day, to the best of my ability, I have done everything I could to carry out that mandate. (Applause) To my knowledge I have been loyal to the will of my people, and no opportunity have I let go by unused that could be employed to promote their welfare as I saw it. True, I have not secured their independence; but I shall feel, once this legislation is enacted, that I have not come to this country in vain. No one advocating certain legislation ever gets all he wants in the first attempt. Considering the time I have been here, the character of the subject, and the influences I had to fight, I feel inclined to say that I am almost surprised that I have secured as much.

Mr. Towner: Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Quezon: Yes, sir.

Mr. Towner: I do not desire to take the gentleman's time. I think it may perhaps be fitting for a Member of the minority to say that while he has not always been able to agree with the Commissioner from the Philip-



pine Islands, he is ready to say that he has never known any man more devoted to the interests of his people, as he understood those interests, than has been the gentleman from the Philippine Islands. (Applause) In season and out of season, with an ability and persistence rare and creditable to any representative in any parliament in the world, this gentleman has worked for his people.

And I desire to say that, so far as my belief is concerned, there never has been in any legislative body a representative of a people such as the Filipinos who has represented them more ably and faithfully than has the gentlemen who now addresses the House (Mr. Quezon). (Applause)

Mr. Quezon: Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Iowa for his very kind words, which I sincerely appreciate.

Mr. Speaker, in the course of the campaign I have carried on to present before the American people the real aspirations of my country, I have been at times bitterly assailed and even slandered by persons who are too blind or too partisan to admit that anything but selfish motives can animate their opponents. An earnest determination on the part of some of these to destroy me, politically, and even to ruin my reputation as an honest man failed through no fault of theirs. I have never retorted in kind. The cause I advocate is too just, too sacred for me to permit it to be stained by base or merely personal animadversions. That I was only "trying to perpetuate myself in this job" in advocating independence was the least charge made against me. Well, Mr. Speaker, now the opportunity presents itself of answering that charge, which up to this moment I have ignored because I always prefer to answer with deeds rather than with words. (Applause) I could not very well quit my post while nothing was done by this Government to ameliorate conditions in the Islands. After having started the fight, it would have seemed lack of determination or cowardice on my part to stop it or has been won and the further work to be done is comparatively easier, I am going to show how attached I am to my office and how fearful I am of losing it. I shall not seek reelection. I do not want this or any other public office. I can manage to live, and much more to my liking, as a private citizen. The only reason why I sought this place is because I wanted to be of service to my country, not because of the honor or the salary attaching to it. Once I



served my country when there was nothing but hunger, fatigue, every kind of hardships, and danger to my life in the service.

Mr. Speaker, my people have been too generous with me. I owe them more than I shall ever be able to repay, no matter what I might have done or might do in the future for them. In leaving my present office I do not propose to abandon my duty of cooperating in the work still to be done until the islands are completely free. I am only going to occupy that place where, in my opinion, I can more effectively help, which, for the present, at least, seems to me to be that of a private citizen.

Just a few parting words, and I shall be through. My service in this House, Mr. Speaker has been the most valuable experience in my life. Here I have met men in mind and in heart. I have formed here friendships that I treasure as beyond price. From everyone of you I have received the most courteous treatment. The days I spent among you will always be very dear to me. I thank you, Mr. Speaker: I thank the leader of the majority, the leader of the minority, and each one of the Members of this great House, for you all have been extremely good to me. I want you all to know that I realize that each one of you, no matter how you vote on the Philippine question, is moved only by your earnest desire to do what you think is best for us. And so when I go home I shall tell my people that they have no better friends than they possess in every Member of this body. (Applause)

The Speaker, pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Quezon: I hope you will all come to the Philippines and visit me. (Prolonged applause)



INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT  
QUEZON OF THE SENATE.

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(October 16, 1916.)

Gentlemen of the Senate:-

I feel overwhelmed by the distinction that has come to me. When, by unanimous acclamation, you chose me to be the first president of this august body, you conferred upon me an honor that has a special value at this period of our history. You are well aware that I did not seek of our history. You are well aware that I did not seek the office, but I gratefully bow to your will.

You expect me to maintain violate the dignity of this House, to preside over its deliberations with strict impartiality, and to faithfully carry out its resolutions. You may rest assured that I shall do so.

The constitution of this Senate is a historical event for more than one reason: it is not only the first Senate of the Philippine Islands, but it is the first national Senate of really popular character since its inception. In Europe the senators, because of the elements from which they are drawn and the source of their authority, are generally representatives of the privileged classes, of the nobility and the church. In America, the Senate was provided to represent in Congress the sovereign interests of the several states composing the Union. In Europe the Crown appointed and still appoints senators, who were and chosen from amongst the dignitaries of the church or the members of the nobility. In America, the senators were until recently elected by the legislature of each state. In the Philippines, it was the people who elected us by direct suffrage. Here we do not represent privileged classes, which, fortunately, do not exist here. Here we present the people in general, and to them we shall be answerable for our acts. It is the interest of the people which we have to safeguard, and it is the people as a whole whom we have to serve.

In substituting an appointive house by this elective Senate, the Government of the sovereign nation contemplated something more than a mere change of form. It desired to create a state of affairs totally opposed to the former regime. The Commission was there to serve our interests, to be sure, but it served them from the point of view that the sovereign Government took of those interests. We are here to serve the people as the people wish us to serve the. Our deliberations and our resolutions need not reflect the opinion on the other side of the ocean, but must reflect sentiment and thought as they are in our country. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that a senate is expected to proceed differently from a popular house. Wherever the bicameral system exists, the lower house is supposed to serve as a very sensitive thermometer, registering the most momentary and temporary changes in public sentiment, while the senate must represent the serene, mature and prudent judgment of public opinion. In other words, the senate must be a safe, immovable dam to contain any overflow of popular passion. The voice of the people is the voice of God only when it expresses a judgment formed within the safe channels of serene reflection. The most horrible crime recorded by history, a crime that caused the hea-



vens to weep and the earth to tremble, was a crime committed at the instance of a people blinded by passion, at a moment when fanaticism had stifled reason and paralyzed all human sentiment. I refer to the crime of Golgotha. We must take a step forward only when we are sure of ourselves, and such steps must necessarily be few. We must act when we are sure that we know public opinion and that this opinion has been formed conscientiously. In cases of conflict between private interests we must be the regulatory force that harmonizes the demands of the distinct elements making up our community, in order that the general interest may prevail in every case. We must maintain the stability of our institutions and safeguard public and private rights.

The merits of our work will not be measurable by the quantity of the laws we pass, but by their quality. Nothing breeds more confusion in society than a constant change in legislation. To suffer the evils of an existing law is in many cases preferable to endeavoring to remedy these evils by a law passed in a haphazard way, without proper and careful consideration, because laws of this nature are productive of greater, and perhaps even of irreparable harm. Our work will be to build up and not to tear down, and we shall not destroy the old until we are sure that the new is better. (Applause).

The Jones Act confers upon the Senate not only legislative, but also administrative authority. The Senate's prerogative to confirm or withhold its confirmation of the appointments made by the Governor-General gives us a share in the powers and, of course the responsibilities, of the Executive as regards the execution and administration of our laws. It is a prerogative that we should esteem and hold in high regard. To obtain it, great efforts had to be made by the supporters of the Jones Act. It has received the special approval of our present Governor-General, and we must endeavor by our success to dispel the fears of our adversaries and to bring about the fruition of the hopes of our sympathizers.

The political parties are absolutely necessary organizations wherever democratic government is established. When a political party obtains the majority of the popular vote, it acquires the whole power of the Government, and with that power the responsibility. It is a fact that we do not yet enjoy sovereign powers. Ample as are the powers conferred upon the people by the Jones Act, they are limited by the powers reserved by the American Government, which are powers inherent in sovereignty. We have the right to exercise, and the people naturally desire to exercise, all the powers conferred upon us by the Jones Act. We are entitled to hope and, I believe, may confidently hope that the representative in these Islands of the United States will construe the Jones Act in a liberal spirit, and wherever the will of the people is not in conflict with the powers of the sovereign, the will of the people should govern. The will of the majority being known through the result of an election, that majority elevated to power must be given all opportunity to carry out its program. This it is just, may even essential, that the victorious majority should occupy the administrative offices, the same as it has obtained the elective positions. It is the right, as well as the responsibility, of the majority not only to pass laws, but also to secure their proper execution. It is not, however, sufficient qualification for appointment to an ad-



ministrative or any other position that the candidate belong to the party that has carried off the victory at the polls. It is also necessary that integrity, intelligence, patriotism and diligence render him really worthy of the office which he desires to occupy. We have no right to refuse to inform appointments made by the Governor-General for the sole reason that the person appointed is not to our personal liking. In no case must we ever place party interests before the interests of the community. (Applause.) Our duty is to advise and give consent, and not to propose or select. We must take a stand just as far removed from inaction, which is a coward renunciation of responsibility, as from obstinacy and usurpation.

In the United States the Senate intervenes in the acts of the Government related with its international relations. The power of the Insular Government being circumscribed to our home affairs, the Philippine Senate lacks that authority. It is not venture some to affirm, however, that foreign nations will closely watch the conduct of this Senate in order to form and advance judgment of what our conduct will be when we shall be absolutely independent. I venture to affirm that it will greatly depend upon this Senate whether we shall have more sympathizers, not only in America, but also in other countries, with our national aspiration. If we take care to respect and enforce respect for the rights of the foreigner, we shall gain the sympathy of the world. We must aspire to being the custodians of the good faith of the Filipino people toward other nations, and it must therefore be our endeavor to keep that faith immaculate. Our conduct must be inspired by justice, consideration, and fraternal affection, not for our own people alone, but also for foreigners.

Gentlemen, I have taken up too much of your attention. I feel upon my shoulders the full weight of the enormous responsibility that you have placed upon me. With the aid of God and your assistance I hope to discharge my mission successfully. We need the support of the whole people. We must remind them that we have entered upon the most acute period of our history; that our triumph, will be their triumph, our defeat their defeat, our failure their failure. We must ask them, and we can trust that they will respond to our request, to give us the inspiration of their patriotism, the advice and direction of their intellect, the support and co-operation of their powerful arm. (Prolonged thunder-our applause.)



S P E E C H  
of  
HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON,  
Resident Commissioner from the Philippines,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Monday May 1, 1916.

The House, in Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, had under consideration the bill (S. 381) to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.

Mr. Quezon, Mr. Chairman, we are all, I am sure, conscious of the fact that the question before the House is of the utmost importance, of vast consequence to both the American and the Filipino peoples. Your action will, indeed, affect not alone you and us of the present generation, but those coming after us - generations yet unborn. And so, it is with a very deep sense of grave responsibility that I shall make my statement.

You are writing history to-day, and it lies entirely within your power to determine what that history shall be - whether it shall be one worthy of the past of this great Republic, a realization of the noble purpose for which it was founded, or a hold and frank departure from what you have asserted to be American ideals and American principles. The people of the Philippines are in suspense; their eyes are now anxiously following the proceedings in this chamber, the very life of their country hangs in the balance. Shall justice at last be done to them? Shall the untold sacrifice in blood and treasure made in the past now bear its fruit?

Shall we, after centuries of subjection, be after all permitted to lift up our heads and face mankind as an emancipated people, placed upon the same footing as those who are already the masters of themselves and their country; or must we still wander, a people without its own country or flag, with but feeble hopes in the future? The answer is yours.

To discuss in detail, within the time allotted me, the bill now before the House is, of course, impossible, and perhaps unnecessary. The chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs (Mr. Jones) has done this better than I could hope to do. It is the main issue involved in the bill that I am particularly interested in, and to that question alone I shall address myself. That issue is contained in the provisions of section 34, commonly known as the Clarks amendment. The rest of the bill is very defective. It is not quite as liberal as the bill introduced in the House by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Jones). Indeed, some of its provisions are inconsistent with



the theory underlying the bill; there are too many limitations imposed upon the powers granted to the Filipino people; then the prohibition clause, known as the Gronna amendment, reduces the income of the Philippine government at a time when we shall be most in need of revenue, since we must prepare for the increased expenses that will result from the forthcoming establishment of an independent government. But despite these objectionable features of the bill, I am willing to have it passed as it is rather than to endanger the adoption of the Clarke amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it would be a lack of candor for me to say that the Clarke amendment constitutes, in my opinion, the best and wisest way of disposing of the Philippine question. I think I could propose a better solution, or, at least, one that would better safeguard the interests of my people and be more satisfactory to them. But, as a practical man, I must deal with conditions, and so, there being no other proposal for Philippine independence which could possibly have any chance of getting through, I am for the Clarke amendment body and soul. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

The substantial merit of the Clarke amendment lies in the fact that it provides for the establishment, within a short period of time, of an independent Philippine government, a government that will be of, for, and by the Filipino people, absolutely free from any foreign control and interference; a government which it is our fondest ambition to have, as it is our God-given right to establish, the only kind of government under which we can live happily and content. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I shall not on this occasion deal with the question of whether or not the Filipino people are capable of governing themselves. I have discussed that question time and time again, both upon the floor of this House and else where, and, I dare say, it is, with most of you, no longer a debatable point. Those who, in spite of the splendid evidence given by the people of the Philippine Islands in their exercise of the power heretofore granted them by the United States, still insist that we can not govern ourselves are either too blind to see the light or too prejudiced to admit it. It is a waste of time to try to convince them. The proposition to which I shall address myself is that on which honest men may differ, namely, whether the Filipino people, left to their own devices, would long remain independent. There are many well-meaning and sympathetic Americans



who would not for one minute withhold from us that right to govern our own country except for the fear that we may fall prey to some other power, and in their good will toward my people, in their unselfish interest in our well-being they would not tolerate for a second a situation under which we might become the victim of any unscrupulous nation. All honor to these good-hearted, generous Americans! They are not to be confused with those whose real motive in opposing Philippine independence is the promotion of their own personal interest. These honest Americans deserve and have the affection of my people, But I want to tell them, Mr. Chairman, that in my opinion their fears are unfounded, that the specter of a nation awaiting patiently but watching guardedly the moment when the United States shall withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands in order to step in and get control of the Philippine government is the result of fancy.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Suppose the Filipinos were given freedom now, but before they had time to build up an army and navy some European or oriental country should undertake to take them away. To what civilized country would they look for protection?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I was just saying when I was interrupted by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Madden) that, in my opinion, the hypothesis of the gentleman is not likely to become real; but if it should let me assure the gentleman that we would look to no country for protection; we would fight as best we could with whatever means we had we would unhesitatingly consecrate once more to your love for freedom the best blood there is in our hand (applause); we could do no more.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Will the gentleman yield for just one supplemental question?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Has the gentleman got that confidence in the nations of the world to believe that you will be left alone after you are free and independent without a strong army and navy?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I have no more confidence in the nations of the world now than had those patriotic Americans who in 1776 dared to establish a Republic in this continent with but 3,000,000 people (applause); but my people are just as willing - in fact, as desirous of taking their chance - as the founders of this Nation were,



and I hope, in God's mercy, we shall be as successful. What would have been the fate of your country today had your forefathers been as timid, as fearful of other nations, as the gentleman from Rhode Islands (Mr. O'Shaunnessy) would wish us to be? The inquiry of the gentleman implies the assertion that no small country should aspire to be independent, for it surely will be grabbed by a stronger power. If this theory be true, the mouth of every Irishman patriot should be forever closed, since their noble ambition would simply mean a change of master. But, that theory, fortunately for mankind, is unsound and not supported by facts. Look, if you please, at Holland, Switzerland, and other small countries, and tell me how long they have been independent. Does anyone question that they will remain so for years to come? Belgium, the latest instance of an unprovoked aggression, was not attacked because her conquest was sought, but because the passage of a belligerent army through her territory was deemed vital for the success of that army, and, I dare say, that the attack upon Belgium, more than any other cause, will defeat Germany in this war, since she so shocked the moral sense of the world that she alienated sympathies which might otherwise have been here. It will only be, so we are told - and I believe it to be true - after the full independence of Belgium shall have been restored and after she has been fully paid for the damages she has suffered that the peace of Europe will come.

Mr. Chairman, it has been very unfortunate for the people of Belgium, it has meant to them untold sufferings, and yet, in a way, the world at large may be consoled that such a horrible incident should have taken place, for its consequences make us feel that it never will be lightly repeated. With the lesson in Belgium before it no nation, no matter how strong she may be will be anxious to put herself in the moral predicament in which the German Government is now placed (Applause).

Mr. O'SHAUNNESSY. Mr. Chairman, just one more question. Is it a fact that the politics, so called in the Philippine Islands believe that when they are given their freedom they will be supported in it by the Army and Navy of the United States, or is there any understanding that they will be guaranteed in their freedom or that something will be done for their neutralization?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, there may be Filipinos who believe or hope that when the Islands are declared independent the Army and Navy of the United States will stand back of that declaration, either for a period of years or forever. I, for one, do not share that belief nor do I cherish such hope. Of course, I would not refuse the aid of the United States, and would accept it gracefully if it was



tendered to us in case we were at war. But I would not ask for it. Certainly I would not make the independence of the Philippine Islands dependent upon the understanding that such aid would be given us. My attitude on this matter has always been this: That if we want to be independent, we should rely upon ourselves alone to maintain and defend our government. So far as I know, this is also the attitude of the immense majority of the Filipino people. (Applause)

It is true that there are many Filipinos - and I am one of them - who would like to see the Philippine Islands neutralized, and we hope that the United States will take the necessary steps to secure an agreement with other nations to the effect that when the islands shall have been granted their independence by this Government, that independence shall be recognized and respected by all the nations of the world and not interfered with. But neither are we so much concerned with the necessity of neutralizing the Philippines as to make the granting of our independence dependent upon the success of a neutralization treaty.

Mr. Chairman, I have no fear that when your protection is withdrawn from the Philippines, we shall at once be invaded by a conquering army; not because I have any confidence in the altruism of the other nations, but because I know they are selfish. Just let me show you how the self-interest of the great powers will serve to protect the islands from foreign aggression. The nations that are strong enough to take the Philippines by force are England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia in Europe, and Japan in Asia. England is satisfied with the maintenance of the status quo in Asia - that is to say, of retaining what she has and in not having others get more than they have now. She does not seem to have any special reasons for wishing to possess herself of the Philippines. On the contrary, there are two strong reasons why we should have no fears of England: First, because after the attitude which she has taken in this war - holding herself out as the friend of weak nations - she could not well adopt a policy of conquest toward such a nation; second, because England would no more think of offending the American people than the United States would think of offending the English people.

These two English-speaking people are now friends and will remain so. It is evident that if the Philippines are made independent because, in their love for justice, the American people felt it their duty to allow us to set up our own Government, it would necessarily be offensive to the people of the United States to learn that another country had destroyed the government. This does not mean that they would have feeling of resentment against the nation which has thus acted toward us. So England will not interfere with an independent Philippine government.



Austria is out of the question, for she has no colonies in Asia and has shown no desire of late of acquiring them. How about France, Germany, Italy and Russia? The interest of Japan, as well as that of England, will protect the Philippines from aggression coming from either of these countries. So there is left only one nation, and that is Japan, the very nation which is pointed out as the greatest menace to Philippine independence. Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that if the Philippine Islands were given to Japan and the Filipinos were to acquiesce voluntarily to this transfer of sovereign and would become patriotic Japanese, that Japan would be glad to take the islands. But Japan will make no effort, will shed not a drop of blood, or spend a cent of money to acquire the islands once they are independent. There are only three objects nowadays for which a nation undertakes the conquest of another nation-territorial aggrandizement, commercial expansion, or military necessity. Japan does not need at present any territory in the Philippines. She has of recent years added to the empire more territory than she can easily manage. Besides, for her territorial expansion she is looking toward the north instead of toward the south. So, for the sake of gaining more territory alone, Japan will not undertake to conquer the islands. As for commercial expansion, the trade of Japan with Europe, China, and the United States will not be helped by the possession of the Philippines, for the islands are out of the way in all these routes. As for strategic reasons, the Philippines are no more needed by Japan than they are for commercial reasons. No possible enemy of Japan, after the United States has left the islands, would come by way of the Philippines. Therefore I can see no reason why Japan would have any special desire to seize the islands. Again, England could not look with favor on the action of Japan in taking over the Archipelago, for that would place Australia too near Japan to be safe or comfortable. So, Mr. Chairman, this talk of the Philippines being grabbed by Japan the day after you had left us alone is absolutely unfounded, and no one familiar with the international situation in the Far East would take it seriously. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I understood the gentleman to take the position that there is no danger of Japan conquering the Philippines in case the Philippine Islands are independently free?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. But for the purposes of this next question, Does the gentleman think there is any possibility that Japan would go to war with the United States for the purpose of getting the Philippine Islands if our sovereignty remained?



Mr. QUEZON. That is a very delicate question for me to answer. That is a matter for American statesmen and Japanese statesmen to settle. (Applause). I have my own opinion as to what would be the relations between the Philippines and Japan if we were independent, but I should not care to be placed in the position of telling this House things concerning the relations between the United States and Japan.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If the gentleman thinks that Japan would not fight the Filipinos in order to get the Philippine Islands, does he think that Japan would fight the United States in order to get the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Since the gentleman insists, I think I can point out to him some difference from the stand-point of Japan between the Philippines as an independent nation and the Philippines as a colony of the United States. The Philippines, as an independent nation, would not be a source of danger to Japan, but the Philippines under American sovereignty might well be a menace to Japan's interest in the Far East. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

Mr. Chairman, I feel that I have fully demonstrated that, as conditions in the world stand to-day, if you grant the Philippines their independence, that independence will be recognized and respected by all the powers. Therefore I see no reason why you should withhold from us that right which we long to exercise and which by every divine and human law is really ours.

Statements have been made to-day to the effect that this is the anniversary of the Battle of Manila, and it has been alleged that because of this fact this is an ill-chosen day to bring up a bill providing for the independence of the Philippine Islands. Ah, Mr. Chairman, you could have selected no better day than this to decide that the Filipinos shall have their independence; you could in no more fitting manner celebrate Dewey's victory in the Manila Bay. I remember with what unbounded enthusiasm the Filipino people received the news of the declaration of war between the United States and Spain. It was heralded to them, as it was heralded to the rest of the world, as a war not to be waged for territorial expansion, not made in a spirit of conquest, but undertaken by a liberty-loving people in order to free the oppressed people of Cuba.

The Filipinos, of course, understood that this meant freedom for them as well, for, to their minds, you could not follow one policy in Cuba and another in the Philippines. We in the islands were also struggling for our freedom. We fought by your side in that war. We hailed the American soldiers as the



liberators of our people; we looked upon your victories as our own victories and gave you credit for the victories won by our own soldiers. It was a common enterprise against a common enemy. You received our aid, knowing the reason why it was given you, namely, because we believed in good faith that if we took your side, you would set free our country. And so, after those long and weary years have gone by, it is now well nigh time for you to celebrate Dewey's victory by granting independence to the Philippine Islands. Thus you will prove that that victory was won not for the purpose of taking other people's land, not for the purpose of opening for your goods new markets, not for the purpose of giving your administrators new subjects, but in the true spirit of that noble task which you have undertaken from the beginning of this Republic - to do your part in the emancipation of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, there is just one more point which I wish to make in connection with the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Austin), that all the churches in the Philippines, Protestant and Catholic alike, are against independence. I do not know how much truth there is in such a report; but, if it be true, I hope it will not be out of place for me to remind the representatives of these churches that we are the only Christian people in the Far East, and it is, therefore, a duty which they owe to themselves to favor Philippine independence. (Applause on the Democratic side.) Shall it be said that the Christian religion, under whose doctrines we have lived for over 300 years, has not made us at least as good citizens as other oriental peoples? Why do they want American sovereignty of the islands? Do they, mayhave, need American guns to preach us their religion? Christianity is founded upon love, and it is only through love that Christ wishes kingdom established. Christianity is founded upon love, and it is only through love that Christ wishes kingdom established. Christianity is the great teacher of freedom, of equality among men, and he betrays his faith who would use a Christian church's influence to subjugate any people. To the Catholic Church, especially, I have this message to send: Most of us, if not all of us, are Catholics. We have had no other civilization except that which was taught us by the Catholic Church. To say that we are not capable of governing ourselves is to assert that the Catholic Church has been a failure in its civilizing influence in the Philippine Islands. (Applause on the Democratic side.)

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EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESS OF HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS  
ASSOCIATION, HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK  
CITY, APRIL 19, 1919.

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Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen: Some political opponents of mine some time ago said,-- to belittle what I was trying to do---that I had more lack than anything else (Laughter) --and I have found a very good evidence of that fact today. After listening to these two doctors who have addressed you, and to my great satisfaction found that they were able to deliver very eloquent speeches, I was beginning to think whether it would not be a proper excuse for me to tell the Chairman that I am sick again, and that I had to retire. (Laughter) But when he said that some one feared that the speeches tonight or today would deal on generalities, then I changed my mind, and I thought I would try to stand on my feet and say a few words. I am not going to deliver a speech, but I am going to state a few facts about the conditions in the Philippine Islands.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, this Commission that is now visiting your country is composed of men representing all walks of life in my country. They represent also--I would call three generations, constituting now the Filipino people-- those that are very near the grave (Laughter)--to that I do not belong as yet (Harty Laughter)--then the generation represented by Professor Bocoboo and Professor Osias.

It has been said that one of the objections to granting Philippine independence is because there are so many different dialects in the Islands. It is true. Now, for instance, you notice that even in the English language--in using the English language, we have three different dialects (Laughter)-- the one used by such men as Professor Bocobo and Mr. Osias, who have had a thorough American education, the English used by those who like me have learned English by just picking one word here and another word there, and then putting them together as best they could, and the English spoken by those who preceded us--who were thoroughly educated under the Spanish school, which is more or less a sort of mysterious language (Laughter)--they don't--they are not always sure whether they are saying exactly what they want to say (Laughter)--nor whether they are understanding what is being said to them (Laughter).



So, you see, we are here to give you an idea of the different dialects now being spoken in the Philippine Islands. (Laughter). It should, however, that inside of a few more years there will be but one language spoken in the Philippine Islands, and if I may say so myself, as a Filipino, I think it will be the Shakesperian language that you have just heard here today (Hearty Applause). Inside of a few more years, ladies and gentlemen, all of us will have gone, and girls and boys, educated in American schools--when I say "American", I do not mean to say schools paid by American money, or taught by American teachers, because today the schools in the Philippine Islands are largely taught by Filipinos themselves, but when I say American schools I mean schools founded by American teachers, where the English language is the language that is taught. In a few years, all these girls and boys will be using English. You realize, of course--you understand what that means. That means that if we would be so unfortunate as not to attain our independence today, ten years hence those girls and boys will claim in a still louder voice their right to be free, because they--every one of them--will have been so imbued of American ideals and principles, that they cannot live except with an independent country. (Hearty Applause).

Ladies and Gentlemen, several million boys and girls today speak English in the Philippine Islands--thank God, better that I do!

And see what the result of that is--a wonderful spectacle that you and we are offering to the world. Do you realize that if you go through the pages of history you will not find a single instance where people who have been under a foreign yoke and seeking to be free, bring not grievances against the mother country, but love? Do you know of any case where people who have been under foreign domination seek to be free, not because they have been mistreated, but because they have been so well treated? (Laughter and Applause).

Your own case--the United States was three centuries ago inhabited by the sons and the daughters of England. And the United States three centuries ago threw off the yoke of England. Why? Because you have been mistreated by England. There are no countries upon the face of the earth which have secured their independence except through force of arms. And we all hope that the day may come when at last we may see one country free, not through the force of arms, but through good will, love, and cooperation between the mother country and the colony. (Hearty Applause).



Gentlemen- ladies and gentlemen--I don't want to forget that because it is true that I am in favor of woman suffrage (Hearty Laughter and applause)-- why has this wonderful thing been accomplished in the Philippines? Because the United States can claim the honor--more than that, the wisdom of having discovered that colonies are not the properties of the colonization powers to be exploited--that people of the colonies are not the slaves of the colonizing powers to be enslaved--but that colonies are to be treated for the good of the colony, for the betterment of their people, and for their freedom and national sovereignty.

This, which is now being discussed in Europe, and we all hope is going to be accepted as the principle hereafter to be followed in the treatment of colonies, has been from the very beginning the policy of the United States in the Philippine Islands. And because the United States stood by that policy and followed it honorably, we have the case, ladies and gentlemen, that the people of that country, who, as Professor Bocobo said before, in 1898 fought you and opposed the extension of your sovereignty over their country, now are coming here with a message of love, true, sincere, genuine love, affection and gratitude from the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands to the people of the United States (Applause).

How this policy has been carried out is what I desire to tell you in a few words on this occasion. When you came to the Philippine Islands, you first established a military government there. The Filipinos, as you know, opposed the extension of your sovereignty. They saw very little difference between their Spanish masters and their new masters. They challenged the right of Spain to cede to you a territory, the control of which she had already lost, and they fought you. President McKinley sent a commission to the Philippines to tell the Filipinos-- what? "I hope," he said, "this commission will be looked upon by those people as the bearers, of the richest blessing of a liberating rather than a conquering nation." And again he said, "We shall continue as we have begun, to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction, feel that it is their liberty, not our power, their liberty, not our power, their welfare, and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance."

President McKinley instructed this commission to establish a civil government in the Philippine Islands, and the commission did establish one there. They first started by placing in the hand of the natives the government of the municipalities, and as these municipalities were governed well, they entrusted into the hand of the Filipinos the govern-



ment of their provinces, or those entities compose of these municipalities. For seven or nine years this civil government of the Philippines continued the central government being entirely in the hands of the Americans appointed by the President of the United States. After those seven years have gone President McKinley advised Congress that another step in popular selfgovernment in the Philippine Islands was to be taken. He said, "We are constantly increasing the measure of liberty accorded the islanders, and next Spring, if conditions warrant, we shall take a great stride forward in testing their capacity for selfgovernment by summoning the first Filipino Legislative Assembly. And the way in which they stand this test will largely determine whether the self-government thus granted will be increased or decreased."

In accordance with this declaration in 1907 the first Philippine Assembly was inaugurated and for the first time in the history of our country the Filipinos were permitted to take part in legislating for their islands.

In 1913, after seven years of operation of this Assembly, President Wilson came to power, following the same policy marked by his predecessor, and said, "Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have accorded the people of the Islands a majority in both Houses of the Legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the Commission." It should be remembered that in the beginning the insular government was placed in the hands of the so-called Philippine Commission composed of Americans appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. When the Philippine Assembly was established this Commission constituted the upper House of the Legislature, the Assembly the lower House, so that while the people were represented in one branch of their government, still the upper branch remained in the hands of Americans appointed by the President, and not responsible to the people of the Philippine Islands.

When President Wilson came to power, and after a demonstration by the Assembly, that the Filipinos could be entrusted with legislative power, he proceeded at once to appoint Filipinos in that Commission, giving us the majority in the Commission, so that, as he well said, from that time on the control of the Legislature was placed in the hands of the Filipinos.

After two years of operation, and when it was proven that the Filipinos could be safely entrusted with all the power of legislating for the country,



the Congress of the United States enacted the Jones law, which made elective both the upper and the lower Houses, and practically invested the people of the Philippine Islands with such powers that it may properly be said that since that day to this present moment the Filipinos themselves have been governing the Philippines.

For three years, ladies and gentlemen, this government has been in operation--a government where the United States has but one representative--the Governor-General--a government where the members of the Cabinet of the government--the men in charge of the execution and administration of the laws, are all Filipinos, have the Vice-Governor--a government where the Legislature is entirely composed of Filipinos elected by the people. And I am going to proceed to tell you what this government has done.

This government kept peace and order throughout the Archipelago during the war. (Hearty Applause) This government, did more than that--this government was the only force back of you in the Orient during the war, and every Filipino was ready to fight for your flag, not only within the boundaries of the Philippine Islands, but in France, in Europe, wherever the flag might be assaulted! That is what the government has done.

That government has increased the opportunities for education to girls and boys in the Philippine Islands. Prior to that time, and in spite of sixteen years of a government in the Philippines controlled still mainly by Americans, not all the boys and girls of the Philippines could be educated, for lack of funds--I means attention on the part of the government. This new government has found a way of educating every child born in the Philippine Islands, and they will all be educated within the next seven years. (Hearty Applause).

And again, ladies and gentleman, under this government the wealth of the country has improved enormously, the Secretary of Commerce in a speech before the Chamber of Commerce a few days ago gave figures. This government organized a bank which three years ago had but five million dollars. Today it has one hundred and fifty million dollars--the largest bank west of Chicago--that is what this government has done--not excepting San Francisco of course. That is what that government has been doing.

And if you want to know the opinion of your official representatives in the Philippines as to the working of this government, all you have to do is to hear what Governor-General Harrison said -- I am sure this government is a stable government" he



said--speaking of that government--and it will be maintained under as independent Philippine Government."

Now, that is the case--the Philippine case, before you, ladies and gentlemen. The law which gave the Filipinos the power to govern the Philippines and the opportunity to show whether they could govern that country or not, promised them independence as a stable government can be established therein. Will the American people fall to carry this promise solemnly made to people who have taken it in good faith, to the extent that where there was suspicion before there is now faith, where there was dislike there is now love, and to the extent of following you--sharing your fate and your fortune is the last war, giving you everything they could to prove to you their gratitude and belief and faith in you! No!--o I don't believe the American people could do such a thing as that!

But, it has been said that the danger of granting the Philippines their independence is Japan.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, just a little consideration will, I think, dismiss this question. For Japan to take the Philippines, there should be these reasons--first, that Japan desires to take the Philippines (Laughter); second, that it will be profitable for her or advantageous for her to take the Philippines. No sane reason desires to take something that will do him harm (Laughter), and no sane nation would, Japan has given evidence of being rather too sane (Hearty Laughter). Of course, it is hard for any one of us to say and to be sure that he knows what he is talking about--that Japan does not want to take the Philippines. We can only judge men as well as people from what they say. (Laughter) And we are bound to take at face value their words until they prove to be liars. Japan time and again has been saying that she cares not for the Philippines. But let us see her actions, her deeds, as far as the Philippines are concerned whether they would seem to justify her words. There is no law in the Philippines that precludes Japanese immigration. We have been the neighbors of Japan for more than three hundred years. They and we have always been in the Far East--at least I do not know that there has been any change in the geographical position of the two countries (Laughter). And do you realize that there are not many more than seven thousand Japanese in the Philippine Islands?--in spite of that long continued geographical neighborhood. There are more Chinese in the Philippines than Japanese. Would not that indicate that Japan is not so very anxious to colonize the Philippines.

Nations grab other people's countries either be-



cause they need their territory to send their population, or they need their wealth, or they need the territory for strategical reasons. Japan does not seem to be very badly in need of territory just at present, and if she is, her covetous eyes are looking toward a different geographical direction than where the Philippines are located (Hearty Laughter.) Japan has Formosa, Korea, Manchuria. That territory is more than ample for all the people of Japan to go to and live there. They may well leave the island where they are now living and go to these other territories. She is not badly in need of territory. Therefore, that one reason is to be discounted.

The Japanese have not been proven to be very successful as colonizers of tropical countries, and we do not know that they could stand the climate in the Philippines if they went there as colonizers,--in fact, we do know that some of the Japanese who go to some of their plantations in Java are readily welcomed by some grave somewhere (Laughter). They cannot stand our climate.

Here is the last and most important reason. The taking over of the Philippines by Japan will be the most difficult enterprise she ever had. It would not be like the taking over of Korea or of Formosa. Do you realize that there is but one thing in which Japanese and Filipinos are alike, and that is that their countries are both located in the Far East (Laughter). The Japanese--the Filipino is not racially like the Japanese. Our religious is absolutely different. We have been Christians for the last three hundred years, and they are not. Our people have been for the last twenty years living under democratic institutions, much more democratic than those existing in Japan. The Filipinos never could be taught or compelled for that matter, a government such as now prevails in autocratic countries.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is a fact, and every Japanese statesman knows it. Well now, what is therefore the problem for Japan if she went ~~to~~ to the Philippines and tried to conquer the Philippines? It is simply the problem of killing every Filipino (Laughter)--male and female, (Hearty Laughter and Applause) because the Filipinos would be hardly willing to be under a government which is non-Christian. The Filipino women are strongly Christian. If anything, they have unreasonable prejudices (Laughter) against other religions--mean this. And it means everything--the opposition of Filipino women as far as the Philippines is concerned, ladies and gentlemen, because in my country, although women do not as yet vote, and it is due to a law enacted by the Congress of the United States--not enacted by us (Hearty Laughter)--in my country where women, although



they do not vote, and hope they will-women exercise a very strong and decisive opinion over our affairs. They are the masters in their homes. It is a fact (Laughter), and it is the only country in the Far East too where women are so respected by men. Their voice goes a long way. That is a fact. Now, that is the only country in the Far East where women have something to say, not only in home affairs, but in public affairs as well-and they don't vote either. The first time I elected, thanks to the influence of women. You understand now why I am for women (Tremendous Laughter and Applause). You have discovered my secret. That is the reason I am for women suffrage (Hearty Laughter). So you see the Japanese people know that.

Now, what advantages will there be for Japan to control a country under such conditions? Japan knows that we have grown during the last twenty years in every way. All that Japan wants from the Philippines, ladies and gentlemen, I think, is our friendliness, and since we are not troublesome--we are ready to be friends with anybody--and against Japan would naturally want a share in our trade. Why, she is entitled to everything she can get. That is all, in my opinion, that Japan wants from the Philippines.

This war has also proven another thing--that countries, geographically situated as the Philippines are, can be easily defended from invasion. All we have to have are our mines, submarines and aeroplanes, and while we are not a very large country, we can provide ourselves with mines, submarines and aeroplanes, I assure you of that--so that it will be a difficult, expensive proposition to come and conquer the Philippines.

Why should Japan wish to win the ill-will of the United States? And whether the Philippines are under American protectorate or a league protectorate or absolutely independent, I believe that if you had granted the Philippine Islands their independence, and Japan tried without any reason--and there can be no reason--tried without any reason to come and conquer the Philippines, that at least Japan would make herself a little bit more unpopular than she is today in the United States (Laughter and Applause).

When I came to the United States, ladies and gentlemen, this time, I did not come with the rest of the Mission. I came through Japan alone. I made it a point to meet more people in Japan than I ever did before. A few things



I have noticed. One is that the Japanese people being wise people, have learned some lessons from this war. They have learned that their army is not going to be the salvation of Japan. They have learned that they cannot place all their hope in their armed forces. And today the military party in Japan is down. The masses of the people are up. Their premiers, for the first time comes from the common people.

And now, I want to say this--there is no difference between the masses of the people, whether those masses come from Japan, from the United States, from England, France or Germany. (Applause). The masses of the people believe in peace and justice instinctively every where (Hearty Applause). And wherever you permit the government at large to control their government, you find a country that will not be cause for trouble. That is what Japan is to-day--at least, it is beginning to be. The masses of the people in Japan are beginning to rule their government, and they hate war as much as any people do. I have seen financiers in Japan--some of them don't approve of certain policies of their government. They are for peace. They think Japan has enough trouble in her hands today without going into foreign troubles. So you see we really have no reason to be affraid of Japan.

But suppose Japan had some designs in the Philippines. How about the League? How about the League I say again? How about those wonderfully eloquent declarations made by this country when she entered the war, that you went into that war ready to spend everything you had, and you were, in order to guarantee the right of every people, great or small, to live their own independent existence. How about those declarations? They sounded so wonderful, that they were greeted with joy when they were heard in the Philippine Islands. They sounded so wonderful, that every Filipino offered his service to United States government so as to help this government to make good those declarations.

And you are making good those declarations. You have already recognized the independence of Czecho-Slovakia--Jugo-Slavia and Poland, even before the armistice was signed, and you are ready to help them stand on their feet. Have you promised anything in particular to those countries? Are you bound to them by your words or by ties or by association? No. And yet you are helping them to have their own country, their own flag, their own government. Will you deny this to the Philippine Islands--to the Filipino people--to the people whom you promised to help to have their own



## FILIPINOS WANT INDEPENDENCE

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### QUEZON HOPEFUL

In addressing the large audience which gathered to witness the opening ceremonies of the Panama Pacific Exposition, Commissioner Quezon said:

"Allow me to welcome you on behalf of the people of the Philippine Islands to this grounds. We invite you to examine the modest contribution of the people of the Philippine to this great celebration of one of the greatest event in the history of mankind. We are gathered here to day to celebrate the eternal connection of the two great oceans, accomplished through the ability and capacity of American citizenship. I shall not indulge in the discussion of what immortal deed, nor shall I take up your time in stating the benefits that the people of the Philippines expect to derive from the opening of the Panama canal. I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the reasons why the Philippines is taking part in this exposition.

"For a small country like the Philippines in the present circumstances of a world-wide commercial depression it implies a great effort for us to come here and participate in this exposition. But the Filipinos are an enterprising and progressive people. They are fully aware that the only way by which they can occupy a place in international affairs such as they are entitled to is that of mingling with other people and of showing them what they themselves are.

"The Filipinos are more interested in doing this because they are among the least known people in the world. Strange as it may seem, after fifteen years of American occupation in the islands they are hardly known even to the American people at large. There still prevails in many minds the idea that the majority of them are practically uncivilized.

"When you make the circuit of this pavilion and the exhibits, the Educational and Agricultural palaces and examine our displays in art and in science, in agriculture, in forestry, in industry, in commerce and in education, you must come to the conclusion that a people capable of accomplishing such results is not altogether foreign to civilization. Here you will see the products of Filipino minds, and Filipino hands, and unless I am very much mistaken when you leave this place you will carry with you the conviction that the Filipinos are far from being uncivilized.

"It is unnecessary for me to say that there is one paramount question in the mind of these people. They want to be free and independent from any foreign domination.



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"It is unnecessary for me to say that there is one paramount question in the mind of these people. They want to be free and independent from any foreign domination.



There are those in this country who believe that the Philippines as a possession of the United States is a commercial asset to this country. It is time that this illusion be wiped out. The possession of the Philippines by the United States entails both enormous responsibility and great expense upon the American people and whatever gain, if any, is made by this nation through its trade with the Philippines is more than counter-balanced by that expense.

"There is no reason in the world why the same commercial relation that now exist may not be maintained between the Philippine and the United States after the Philippines have become independent. It will then be true that since Americans will not be drawn upon for money to be used in the maintenance of American sovereignty in the Island the gain of the American people from trade with the Philippines will be correspondingly increased. The granting of independence would in itself create so strong a sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Filipino people toward the United States that you would have created in the heart of the Pacific a nation new in its allegiance and friendship to you both in peace and in war.

"As to the prestige of the American flag, what better prestige can you have than that which will come to you as the result of an Act of international justice and generosity?"

At San Francisco, Mr. Quezon also said to the press):-

"President Wilson is earnestly and seriously in favor of this measure," he said, "and has formally assured us that it will be one of the first subjects considered when Congress convenes next December. After the ship purchase bill had been disposed of an effort was made to call the Jones bill out of committee in the last days of Congress, but the opposition refused to agree not to try to talk the bill to death unless we would eliminate from the preamble the positive promise of independence."



SPEECH OF HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON, PRESIDENT OF  
THE PHILIPPINE SENATE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE  
PHILIPPINE MISSION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON  
THE PHILIPPINES UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE  
COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
HELD JOINTLY MONDAY, JUNE 2, 1919.

Mr. QUEZON, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we have listened with a great deal of interest to be received and heard by both committees of the Senate and House sitting jointly, especially because at this time there are many problems of domestic nature and of international character pressing for your consideration.

The Philippine Legislature, in accordance with the wishes of the Filipino people, sent a special mission to this country bearing the message of good will, respect, and gratitude from the people of the Philippine Islands to the Government and people of the United States. This mission is truly and thoroughly representative. It is composed of men representing all walks of life in the Philippines. It is presided over by the president of the senate and counts in its membership secretaries of departments, senators, representatives, the attorney general, deans and professors of the University of the Philippines, the assistant director of the bureau of education, and men representing the commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests of the country as well as the labor element.

The following represent the Philippine Legislature: Manuel L. Quezon, President Philippine Senate, chairman of the mission; Rafael Palma, senator, fourth district (Manila), vice chairman of the mission; V. Singson Encarnacion, senator, first district (Ilocos); Pedro M. Sison, senator, second district (Pangasinan); Rafael Alunan, representative (Occidental Negros), majority floor leader; Emiliano Tria Tirona, representative (Cavite), minority floor leader; Gregorio Nieva, representative (Tayabas); Mariano Escueta, representative (Bulacan); Manuel Escodero, representative (Sorsogon); Pedro Aunario, representative (Mountain Province).

Those who represent the cabinet are Rafael Palma, secretary of the interior, and Dionisio Jakosalem, secretary of commerce and communications.

The resident commissioners from the Philippines in the United States, Messrs. Jaime C. de Veyra and Teodoro R. Yabgo, are members ex officio. Mr. Pablo Ocampo was formerly Resident Commissioner from the Philippines to the United States and a member of the Malolos Congress.



Those representing agricultural interest are Filemon Perez, former representative (Tayabas); Jose Reyes, former governor of Misamis; Delfin Mahinay, former representative (Occidental Negros), and Ceferrino de Leon, former representative (Bulacan).

The following represent the industrial interests: Tomas Earnshaw, president Earnshaw's Engineering and Skipways Co., and Pedro Gil, coconut-oil manufacturer.

Those representing commercial interests are Mauro Prieto, general manager Germinal Cigar and Cigarette Factory; Juan B. Alegre, hemp merchant; Carlos Cuyugan, vice president Compania Merchantil de Filipinas; and Marcos Rocas, general merchant.

Drs. Gregorio Singian and Perpetuo Guiterrez represent the medical profession. The lawyers are represented by Gabriel La O, member of the Philippine and United States Supreme Court bars.

The labor elements have sent Crisanto Evangelista as their representative. The University of the Philippines is represented by Prof. Jorge Bocobo, dean, college of Law; Prof. Conrado Benitez, dean college of liberal arts; and Assist. Prof. Maximo M. Kalaw, secretary of the mission.

The department of justice is represented by Quintin Paredes, attorney general for the Philippine Islands, and Jose A. Santos, assistant attorney general.

Education is represented by Camilo Osias, assistant director of education.

The Philippine National Guard is represented by Maj. Jorge B. Vargas, aid-de-camp to the chairman of the mission; and Capt. Bernabe Bustamante, disbursing officer of the mission.

The press is represented by Arsenio N. Luz, editor El Ideal, and Francisco Varona, associate editor El Debate.

Messrs. Julian La O and Guillermo Cabrera came as members of the clerical staff of the mission.

So large and representative a body, Mr. Chairman, has come to you charged by our people with the noble and sacred mission of pleading for the national independence of the Philippine Islands. The Filipino people feel that the time has come when steps should be taken immediately by the Government of the United States for the recognition of the sovereignty of the Filipino people over their own country. It is, I think, the first time in the history of the world where a country under the sovereignty of another seeks its



separation from the latter not on the ground of grievances or abuses that call for redress but rather on the ground that the work of the ruling country has been so well and nobly performed that it is no longer necessary that she should still direct the destinies of her colony; and so the colony, with love and gratitude for the governing country, seeks her separation.

We have nothing but words of praise and appreciation for the work so well performed by the United States, and yet you will readily understand why nothing short of independence would ever fully satisfy our people. The granting of our national freedom at this time is in accordance with the avowed policy of the United States with regard to the Philippine Islands.

Upon the declaration of war between the United States and Spain, President McKinley, then the President of the United States, said that forcible annexation, in accordance with American principles, was criminal aggression; and when he sent the first Philippine commission to the Philippine Islands he expressed the hope that the members of the commission would be received by the Filipino people as the representatives of a liberating rather than of a conquering Nation.

Again President McKinley said:

We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power, to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty, and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance.

President Roosevelt, following the same policy as President McKinley, time and time again enunciated that the purpose of the United States in the Philippine Islands was to help the Filipinos to establish their own government. I shall, with the permission of the committee and in order not to take up its time now, insert as a part of my remarks declarations made by President Roosevelt and President Taft, and those made by President Wilson.

(The matter referred to follows;)

In 1906 President Roosevelt said:

"We are constantly increasing the measure of liberty accorded the islanders, and next spring, if conditions warrant, we shall take a great stride forward in testing their capacity for self-government by summoning the first Filipino legislative assembly; and the way in which they stand this test will largely determine whether the self-government thus granted will be increased or decreased."



And in referring to the assembly, he said:

"Hitherto this Philippine legislature has acted with moderation and self-restraint and has seemed, in practical fashion, to realize the eternal truth that there must always be government, and that the only way in which any body of individuals can escape the necessity of being governed by outsiders is to show that they are able to restrain themselves, to keep down wrongdoing and disorder. The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation."

And he also said:

"I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Filipinos can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion.

In a message delivered on the 6th of December, 1912, President Taft said:

"We should x x x endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence."

On the 1st of March, 1913, President Taft adverted to the Democratic platform with reference to the Philippines and quoted that portion of it which referred to the purpose of the United States to "recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established," and said that this was "an affirmation of policy only slightly differing from that repeatedly announced by this and preceding Republican administrations."

President Wilson in a message to the Filipino people delivered by Gov. Harrison in Manila, October 6, 1913, said:

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands.

"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit."



After these declarations were made by the Chief Executives of this country, the Congress of the United States in 1916 passed a law entitled: "An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands."

This act in its preamble says:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or territorial aggrandizement; and,

Whereas it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established; and,

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime imperiling the exercise of their rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

This law, therefore, was enacted for the avowed purpose of promising independence to the Philippines and giving the Filipinos as opportunity to learn - if they did not know, and to demonstrate if they did - their capacity to govern themselves. This act has been in operation for three years. It was passed at a time when the whole world was in one of the most critical periods in its history. It required ability, patriotism, and intelligence of the highest order on the part of the people of the Philippine Islands to create the new government as provided by this act, and to assume the new responsibilities in the faces of the perplexing problems brought about by the war.

How my people have succeeded, I shall refer the committee to the official reports of the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, as well as the Acting Governor General, Vice Governor Yeater, regarding the doings of the present Philippine government.

All I want to say is, that this government has practically assumed the responsibilities of the United States in the Philippine Islands, not only in our domestic affairs, but also in so far as your international responsibilities are concerned. We have kept order and peace during these three years of war. We have not only done that, we have not kept peace and order within our borders, but we were ready - nay, anxious -



once you had entered the war yourselves, to go outside of the Philippines and fight with you and for you in the battle fields of France, or wherever the Government of the United States would care to send our men. The Filipinos have shown in this critical time their loyalty to the United States, their appreciation of what you have done for them and have shown it not in words but in deeds. They have organized their National Guard for service abroad; they have in every instance oversubscribed their allotment of Liberty bonds; they have offered the United States a submarine and a destroyer; they have contributed to the Red Cross; and, more significant than all these, every man in the Philippine Islands was ready to fight for your flag.

What we have done in the Philippines, gentlemen of the committee, to help you win the war, is very little I know, but if you would consider it, not in terms of cents and dollars but in terms of what they meant, how the Filipinos felt while they were doing this, we have really done everything we could do.

The Filipinos have organized, as I said, a new government. Under this new government the country has made progress in education, in commerce, in industry, in agriculture. In other words, it has made progress in every way. So we feel that the conditions laid down by the Jones Act as prerequisite for the granting of Philippine independence have been performed; that we have shown not only that a stable government can be established in the islands but that there is now one there.

There is still another reason why we think that the independence of the Philippines should be granted at this time and that is because of the attitude taken by this Government in the recent war. You said you have gone to war for the liberation of mankind; for the right of every people to govern themselves. Indeed, you have made good those declarations in thus for recognizing the independent existence of several countries of Europe; certainly it would be nothing but natural that the Filipinos should feel that you would make those declarations good with regard to the people of the Philippines. You have recognized the independence of countries of Europe which have been under the control of autocratic powers; who have had no opportunity of exercising the powers of self-government, and to these countries you were not pledged to give independence, you were not in any way related, you were not tied by bonds of long association and affection. How can you afford not to recognize the independence, of the Filipino people whom you have solemnly promised independence, whom you have helped to acquire the science and practice of self-government and who are bound to you by ties of affection, friendship, and eternal gratitude? The granting of our national freedom will be at this time the object lesson that you could give to the world that this country can give of her belief in democracy and in the rights of every people to be free and to govern themselves.



The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quezon, if you will allow me to interrupt you - as I understand it, your legislature adopted a memorial or petition which they desired to present to Congress?

Mr. Quezon, Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you desire to present that for permission to let me present those documents as part of my remarks. The legislature has passed a joint resolution giving instructions to the independence commission as to the purposes of the Filipino people, and the independence commission has given instructions to the Philippine mission. Both of these documents I shall presently submit to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire - and I think it would be proper - that they should be printed as part of the proceedings of the committee, that will be done. Let me suggest to you also that if you so desire your commissioners in Congress can present them as a petition to Congress. Your commissioners can ask permission that they be printed in the Congressional Record, so that they may become officially a part of the proceedings of Congress. All of this will be done if you desire it. Of course, you may carry out your own program if you have one, but I am simply making that suggestion.

Mr. QUEZON. That is what we shall do, Judge. I thank you.

Senator HARDING. I would like to ask Senator Quezon just a question. Do you want the committee to construe the purport of your appeal to be a complete severance of relations without any protectorate or anything of that sort?

Mr. QUEZON. Senator, we are not now making a concrete proposition as to that, because the Philippine Legislature has not given us concrete instructions on this matter, since we think that the future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands should be discussed between representatives of the Government of the United States and representatives of the Philippine Islands commissioned to this effect after congressional legislation has been enacted whereby independence of the Philippines shall have been recognized. However, I might anticipate the assertion that the people of the Philippines are prepared to have the independence of the country recognized by the United States without any protectorate; but if it should be deemed preferable by the United States that some kind of political relationship should exist, we would be willing to accept that. In other words, we shall take the independence of the Philippines with or without any protection.



Senator HARDING. Well, the point I am trying to get at is, you are voicing the aspirations of the Filipinos; what is your judgment about that? Do you want to be wholly severed from any connection with the United States in your independence?

Mr. QUEZON. Are you asking me my preference or my judgment, Senator?

Senator HARDING. I am asking for your expression or your judgment.

Mr. QUEZON. Well, perhaps it might be to the interest of both the United States and the Philippines that some kind of understanding should exist whereby after the independence of the islands has been recognized that there still be some kind of connection between the two countries. But that is merely a secondary consideration, I think. The most essential thing is that the independence of the Philippine be recognized - either absolute independence or independence under the protectorate of the United States.

SENATOR HARDING. Which would your commission prefer?

Mr. QUEZON. I think that the independence of the Philippines under the league is what at the present time appeals to everybody in the Philippines. But if there be no league the Filipinos would like to see the independence of the Philippine recognized and guaranteed by international agreement between the great powers; but if that should not be possible, they want independence, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quezon, the Philippines have been making - especially during the last few years - very remarkable progress, have they not?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And some of your commissioners will make a statement of that, as to the facts and figures in regard to it, in the hearing, I believe. Now, that being true and present conditions in the islands being so satisfactory, I suppose that it is not really imperative that immediate consideration of this matter should be given, is it; that is, as to the question of independence?

Mr. QUEZON. Does the judge wish me to answer how the Filipino people would feel about it?

The Chairman, Yes.

Mr. QUEZON. My very sincere and earnest belief is that the people of the Philippine Islands would be sorely disappointed if no immediate action is taken, unless they understand that action in the near future is contemplated, because the truth of the matter is that the Filipinos have confidently expected that as soon as the war was over the independence of the islands would be granted.



The CHAIRMAN. Supposing the members of the commission should say to your people - as they could very truthfully say - "The United States now are simply engrossed, overwhelmed with the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation; they are almost bankrupt; they can't get enough money to run the Government, and all of these pressing matters are before them. If we press this question of independence upon them, it is not a question that will receive their careful consideration at this time, perhaps; it would seem better that the matter should be considered by Congress at a time when it could receive careful consideration"; wouldn't that have some effect upon your position?

Mr. QUEZON. Of course we will have to do the best we can, because we can't force you to enact legislation.

The Chairman. No; that is not the proposition. The proposition in my mind is this: Is it wise for you - you know these conditions that exists in Congress; you can't just ask Congress for something and have it granted. You know these conditions that exist in Congress; is it best now, even from your standpoint, for you to ask immediate consideration by Congress of this question when the probabilities are that in the first place they would not consider it now; and if they did consider it, the probabilities are it would not receive such consideration as you ask and as the subject deserves? Would it be wise to present that matter and ask the Congress to do those things now?

Mr. QUEZON. We think so, and that is why this mission has been sent here; but if we can not get action, anyway, the question does not seem to be whether it is the best thing to do or not.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of whether it is best or not; the difficulty really is that I don't believe we can get action at this time. That is the truth about it.

Mr. QUEZON. We really think it would be better if we could get this Congress to act. That is the reason why this commission has been sent by the Philippine Legislature, because the people of the Philippine Islands thought that this was the best time, since you are just now engaged in the work of defining the geographical and ethnical demarcations of the world. But I can see, with my experience in Congress, that, with the situation here in the United States -

The CHAIRMAN. This is not so much a question of principle as it is a policy that I am suggesting to you now. Every proposition that comes before Congress for consideration consists of two things: First, is it desirable legislation; second, is it possible to secure it under existing circumstances? I am suggesting to you the consideration of the second question.



Mr. QUEZON. That is just it. I supposed you know that better than I do.

Senator HARDING. I want to ask Mr. Quezon one question: Based upon your experience as a Delegate in Congress, would you advocate an earnest consideration of this question while the world - and the Senate in particular - are engaged in discussing the league of nations; or would you wait until the question of the league of nations is definitely disposed of?

Mr. QUEZON. Well, from the standpoint of the Filipino, Senator, this is a very appropriate time. Now, this is the way the Filipinos look at the matter; but with my experience in Congress, I can see how you would view it. I realize the difficulties you have in your way; but if you are asking me as to the wisdom of immediate action I answer, as a Filipino, in the affirmative, because I do not believe that the present state of affairs in Europe or in this country should interfere with the recognition of Philippine independence at this time. You can easily grant the Filipinos their independence, because that is a matter to be decided simply and solely by the United States Government. Now supposed there is no league of nations then the process of recognizing Philippine independence will be like the process of the recognition of all other countries that have been independent heretofore. The United States will simply recognize it and I take it the other nations will follow suit. And if there is a league of nations, of course, we want the Philippines to become a member of the league, and since you are our sponsors, I suppose we would easily be admitted. So I don't really see any reason for waiting. I think that one joint resolution of Congress could grant Philippine independence and do it in 24 hours, if Congress felt like doing it.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. What would then happen to the Philippines if within the next 60 days we absolutely severed relations with the Philippine Islands and recognized their independence? What would happen then?

Mr. QUEZON. We would proceed to do one thing only, Senator, and that is to elect the successor to the Governor General whom you have sent there - to elect a president of the Philippine republic. We have the rest of the governmental machinery properly established and constituted.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. You have the machinery in all the Province, no matter what their language or racial condition is? You think you have the machinery ready to set in motion?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; absolutely. All we need - and we can easily do it - is to elect a president of the Philippine republic. That we could do within those 60 days.



The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quezon, let me call your attention to the fact that if you are in independent country you will have to organize an independent government. You have none now; you have no constitution; you have the organic act of the United States, but you have no constitution of the Philippine Islands. It would be necessary for you to present the constitution for consideration of your own people and probably for the consideration of Congress.

Mr. QUEZON. I was simply answering the Senator's practical question. The Senator asked me what would happen if the United States should withdraw sovereignty over the Philippines in 60 days. Naturally, in this case we should have to establish at once a provisional government that would take the place of the United States. If you have us six months, then we would call a constitutional convention, adopt our constitution, and elect the officers provided therein. But if you withdraw your sovereignty in 60 or 30 days, I say again that all we have to do would be to elect a president. We have to-day a cabinet, a senate, and a house of representatives, a judiciary, etc. In one word, we have now the whole machinery of government established in the islands except the chief executive of the whole nation.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Quezon, then, if I understand you right, your idea is that if we are trying to apply the principle of self-determination as a practical proposition now to apply it to our own territory?

Mr. QUEZON. EXACTLY.

Mr. NOLAN. How many different languages are spoken in the Philippines?

Mr. QUEZON. There are three main dialects - the Tagalog, Ilocano, and Visayan. There are several other dialects, but either of those there is spoken by every Filipino.

Senator FLETCHER. How many political parties have you in the Philippines? You spoke in your opening remarks about a minority party. What parties have you?

Mr. QUEZON. We have two parties now. One is called the Nacionalista Party and the other is the Partido Demócrata.

Senator FLETCHER. What is the difference in their principles?

Mr. QUEZON. Senator, it is very hard to say now, because both parties are in favor of Philippine independence. I am afraid that there is about as much difference between those two parties in the Philippines as you will find between all political parties everywhere we are in and somebody has to be out. (Laughter)

Senator FLETCHER. It is a question of the "Wouts" against the "ins."



Senator CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Quezon, you say that if independence of the Philippines were recognized at once and their relations with the United States were severed that you could proceed to organize a stable form of government?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. You will remember that in this country in 1783, after we had won our independence, it took till 1789 to get the Constitution ratified, and here was a condition which existed between people who practically all spoke the same language. In view of the difficulties that confronted us, don't you think you will have serious difficulties in enacting a constitution or in adopting a constitution after your independence has been recognized? In other words, don't you think it would be safer for the Philippines to adopt some form of constitution and submit it with your request for the recognition of your independence?

Mr. QUEZON. Undoubtedly, Senator. I did not mean, in my answer to your question before, to say that that was the thing that we had in mind. My own personal plan would be this: The government of the United States should authorize the people of the Philippine Islands to hold a constitutional convention; to adopt their constitution to submit it for the approval of the Congress of the United States, and, once approved, let them elect the officers as provided in that constitution, and, when those officers have been elected, to recognize Philippine independence. That has been your policy in Cuba. Those have been the practical steps taken in Cuba, and that is all that is necessary to be done in the Philippines.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. In other words, you think it would be well to provide for the formulation of a constitution over there by some convention and have it submitted to the people for their ratification?

Me. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. And subsequently submitted to the United States with your request for independence? It seems to me that would be the practical thing. That can't be done in six months, nor can it be done in a year.

Mr. QUEZON. It certainly can, Senator. I shall be very happy and the people of the Philippines will be very happy if we could just secure at this time a resolution through both Houses of Congress authorizing the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution and submit it to the Government of the United States for approval.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. Would that resolution, adopted by Congress, be necessary to enable you to proceed now upon some such system as you may decide upon to adopt a constitution and submit it to the people for their ratification? Then the Congress of the United States would know exactly what you want to do.



Mr. QUEZON. I don't believe that it is necessary to have authority from the Congress of the United States. I think we can do that, but -

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. It seems to me that Congress has already adopted a resolution in the form of a statute recognizing the right of Philippine independence, upon the determination upon the part of the United States eventually to grant it.

Senator HARDING. Doesn't that savor a little of defiance of the United States, Senator, to undertake to adopt a constitution in advance of authority to do so?

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. In advance of our authority?

Senator HARDING. Yes.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. I think it might not be binding; but it would give an expression of the opinion of the Filipino as to just what he wants.

Senator PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, there is a precedent in the case of the State of California, which adopted a constitution and subsequently applied for admission to the Union - and Texas as well.

I would like to ask Mr. Quezon if, after he was assured of independence, would it be the intention of his government to apply to the league of nations, if it existed at that time, for membership, and would he regard that as sufficient protection against outside aggression?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; I think so.

Senator PHELAN. And your desire is to have your independence within a reasonable time now, in order that you might make that application for membership in the league of nations?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. But of course we don't want it to be understood that our petition for independence is to be made dependent upon the existence of the league of nations. Of course, if there is to be a league of nations, we should like to become members of the league.

Senator PHELAN. Well, you are more familiar than we are with conditions in Asia. Do you mean to say that you have no fear of outside aggression in the event you are without protection of the United States or the league of nations?

Mr. QUEZON. That is exactly what I mean.

Senator PHELAN. You have no fear of outside aggression?



Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator PHELAN. Then, if aggression occurs you are in a position to resist it?

Mr. QUEZON. I don't mean to say that. It would be too much for a Filipino to say that the Philippine Islands could withstand an attack from a first-class power now. We can't do it - not to-day, anyway, nor I think the next 10 years or 15 years. Perhaps after that time we might be able to make it so hard for a nation to conquer the Philippines that no nation would care to do it. But we could not defend ourselves now, say, against Japan; but we do not believe that Japan has any desire to attack the Philippines.

Senator PHELAN. Well, it is not good international manners to attack people, but they insinuate themselves by zones of influence. You see that every day in Asia now.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. But, Senator, if the physical power of a nation to resist the aggression of any other is essential for the recognition of that nation's independence, there are many nations in Europe that should not be independent. France could not have resisted alone the attack of Germany, and according to that theory France should not have been independent, nor should Belgium and many other countries be independent. The world has risen up in arms just to stop land-grabbing nations from their plans of world domination. So we don't think that any power would want only interfere with our independence. The fear that many people have that Japan would grab the Philippine Islands is baseless. We don't think that Japan would do that. In the first place, if you grant the Philippines their independence now, for Japan to go and attack the Philippine Islands would be a challenge to the United States itself. You don't have to assume the protection of the Philippine Islands; you do not have to stand sponsor for Philippine independence, the world would know and the Japanese people would know that you would resent their attacking the Philippines after their independence has been granted by the United States.

You would be proud of your deed. You would call the attention of mankind that you have generously and deliberately granted a weak nation its independence; and no nation will interfere with so magnanimous and glorious an act. In the second place, no nation attack another except with the expectation of gaining more than it loses in the attack. And Japan or any other nation will not profit as much as it would lose in conquering the Philippine Islands. Conquests are undertaken now either because of need of territory or for strategical reasons. Japan does not seem to be just now very anxious to get more land; she has plenty in Manchuria, Korea, and Formosa, and certainly she has not shown herself to be a good colonizer of tropical lands.



As far as strategical reasons are concerned, Japan does not need the Philippines except to get the Philippines out of the hands of other powers. I should think that Japan might care to take the Philippines if the Philippines were independent and Germany were still in her career of conquest, for fear that Germany might come and conquer the Philippines and use them as a basis for an attack on Japan. That is the reason given by Japan for her conquering Korea - that Russia wanted Korea. But there is no European country that we think would like to take the Philippines if the Philippines have their independence; therefore Japan for strategical reasons will not need the Philippines. For commercial reasons Japan need not conquer us because she could just as well trade with us if we were independent.

Senator PHELAN. Now, what do you think, about the possibility of Japan peacefully colonizing the Philippines as she is doing California?

Mr. QUEZON. Why, Senator, we cannot prevent that, if Japan desires to do it.

Senator PHELAN. You cannot prevent that?

Mr. QUEZON. No.

Senator PHELAN. That would be the easiest way of conquest, would not it?

Mr. QUEZON. But, Senator, you are not giving us protection to-day against that system of conquest. The Japanese are going to the Philippine Islands to-day and taking land there.

Senator PHELAN. The Japanese are?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir, And the Philippine Legislature enacted a law limiting the ownership of land to Americans and Filipinos, but that law required approval of the President and the State Department was about to recommend the veto of the President so we had to withdraw it. Therefore we are not getting any protection on that score from the United States to-day.

Senator PHELAN. How long has it been since that law was passed?

Mr. QUEZON. Nearly two years.

Senator PHELAN. And our State Department has refused its approval?

Mr. QUEZON. It has indicated to the Philippine Legislature that it couldnot approve it.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator from California will remember that the State Department undertook to prevent the California Legislature from passing just such a law.



Mr. QUEZON. But California can legislate on these matters, and we can not without the approval of the President of the United States. So in this respect we are as badly off to-day as we would be if we were independent, except that if we were independent we would have absolute right to pass such laws, if we deemed it necessary.

Senator PHELAN. Possibly it was due, in a diplomatic way, to the European complications that the State Department withheld its approval. Probably the time is not ripe.

Mr. QUEZON. In the meantime, they are acquiring lands.

Senator PHELAN. Are they acquiring lands in large areas, large quantities?

MR. QUEZON. Not in any unusual way.

Senator PHELAN. What is the attitude of your people toward that? Having passed a law by your own congress or legislature what is the attitude of your people? Have they protested to the government? Have there been several sessions of the legislature since then.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; and the legislature passed that law again. The legislature tried to meet the objections of the State Department, and they amended the law and passed it again.

Senator PHELAN. The Filipino people can't acquire lands in Japan, can they?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir.

Senator PHELAN. And your laborers, are they free to go to Japan and take employment?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; I think they are. But we are not sending them. They donot need to go there.

Mr. NOLAN. About how many Japanese are there in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Very few; about 10,000 - a little over 10,000.

Mr. NOLAN. What percentage of them are native born, born in the Philippines?

Mr. QUEZON. Of the Japanese?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. QUEZON. I do not think there are any.

Mr. NOLAN. They do not have any "picture bride" come to the Philippines, then?



Mr. QUEZON. I don't know.

Mr. NOLAN. You understand what a "picture bride" is?

Mr. QUEZON. Oh, yes; I understand.

Mr. NOLAN. In other words, the restrictions are not so great on the Japanese coming into the Philippines as they are coming into this country under the "gentlemen's agreement?"

Mr. QUEZON. I don't think so.

Mr. NOLAN. So they don't have to practice the same deception?

Mr. QUEZON. No.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I would like to inquire what functions the Government of the United States is now exercising in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. What functions?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Yes; what function do we now exercise in the Philippine Islands? In other words, as I understood from your statement, you are practically controlling the islands now.

Mr. QUEZON. The Congress of the United States has the right to annul any law passed by the Philippine Legislature. The President of the United States has the right to exercise an absolute veto power over all our legislation that has been vetoed by the governor-general and the governor's veto overridden by a two-thirds vote of our legislature. The President of the United States has the power to disapprove any legislation enacted by the Philippine Legislature concerning land, mining, naturalization, immigration, currency, and tariff; and the governor-general, who is an appointed officer of the President, has the right of appointing all the officers of the Philippine Government provided by law; he has the right to veto every act enacted by the Philippine Legislature, and he has, therefore, general control and supervision of the government of the Philippines.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Well, as I understand you, you have already had from three to five years experience in selfgovernment?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Has the Government through its representatives interfered specifically in such a way that you would not freely and fully test out your own ability?



Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; the policy of Governor-General Harrison has been to carry out not only the letter but the spirit of the Jones Act, and so Governor General Harrison has allowed the people of the Philippine Islands to manage the country during these three years.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. So that practically we have the responsibility for the government of the Philippines, but the Filipinos themselves are governing themselves. Is that affair statement?

Mr. QUEZON. That has been done during these three years.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Quezon, how many vetoes have Presidents of the United States made?

Mr. QUEZON. Not one.

Mr. KNUTSON. Are you absolutely sure in your own mind that you could establish a stable form of government if you were given complete independence?

Mr. QUEZON. Absolutely.

Mr. KNUTSON. You have two political parties in the Philippines?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Mr. KNUTSON. What is their relative strength?

Mr. QUEZON. Their relative strength as shown in the last election was rather one-sided. In the senate they had no representative and in the house they had about 15 out of 92.

Mr. KNUTSON. What do the two parties stand for?

Mr. QUEZON. I shall have to give you a little history of the political parties in the Philippines for you to understand my answer to your question.

Upon the establishment of the American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands there were attempts at organization of the Nacionalista Party. The Nacionalista Party always has stood for the independence of the Philippines, Mr. Taft thought it was unwise at that time to have the Filipinos organize this party until the war was absolutely over and the people have forgotten it, and so the Nacionalista Party was not organized in the beginning of the American occupation. Instead, another party was organized, we may say, under the auspices of the Government. This was called the Federal Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quezon, will you allow me to interrupt you at this moment? It will be necessary, according to the promise made to the Senators and Representatives, that we adjourn at this time so that the Members may get to their respective Houses upon



the opening of the session. The hearing will be adjourned until 2 o'clock this afternoon. I hope we will have as large an attendance of Senators and Members of the House as Possible.

Mr. KNUTSON. I don't expect to be here this afternoon, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to ask just one question; he can answer it in one word.

Are both political parties in complete accord in this request for independence?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. The other party is here represented by Mr. Tirona, who is president of his party and its leader in the house of representatives.

(Thereupon at 12 o'clock noon, the committee recessed until 2 o'clock p. m. this day).

MONDAY, AFTER RECESS.

The Committee met at 2 o'clock p.m., Hon. Horace M. Towner (chairman presiding).

The following members of the Senate Committee on the Philippines were also present; Senators Warren G. Harding (chairman), Fletcher, Phelan, and Beckham.

Mr. TOWNER. The sittings of the joint committee will be resumed. The reporter will note that this is a continuation of hearing already held.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, unless the committee desires to ask other questions of me, I shall at this time request that I may be allowed to present the memorial which I have referred to, the joint resolution of the legislature, and the instructions of the independence commission.

Mr. TOWNER. Do you ask that the memorial should be read, and also the resolutions, at this time, before the committee?

Mr. QUEZON. It is too long, Mr. Chairman. It would take too much time.

Mr. TOWNER. I was thinking that it would take up too much time, probably.

Mr. QUEZON. I will just make it a part of my remarks.

Mr. TOWNER. Will you hand a copy of it to the reporter?

Mr. QUEZON. I will do that.

(Documents referred to are inserted as Appendixes A, B, and C.)



Mr. TOWNER. The record heretofore has shown, Mr. Reporter, that the memorial adopted by the legislature of the Philippine Islands was offered by Mr. Quezon and was ordered to be printed in the record. The record also shows that the resolutions of instruction passed by the Philippine Legislature to the commission were ordered to be made a part of the record and printed.

Mr. QUEZON. If the committee is through with me I should like to present the Hon. Rafael Palma. He is the secretary of the interior of the Philippine Government. As secretary of the interior, he is in charge of the Archipelago. He is also in charge of the so-called uncivilized tribes of the Philippines. Secretary Palma has been a member of the Philippine Commission from 1908 until 1915, when the Philippine Commission was abolished. After that time, when the Senate was inaugurated, Mr. Palma was elected senator. He is also secretary of the interior. He can give the committee all the information regarding the government of the Philippines.

Lc/